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ABSTRACT

The concept of impact, as it is treated in this report, is based on the notion of "expected changes in student behavior and attitudes as contrasted to "actual" changes. Following a review of the literature on college impact and a discussion of its relevance to the two-year college, this document presents an empirical model for analysis of impact in the community college, isolates and identifies key variables that account for such impact, and presents guidelines for maximizing the positive impact of community colleges. The model for assessing impact is designed as an input-output model. The eight characteristics identified as factors related to community college impact are described as "input characteristics"; an "expected output" based on these factors can be determined through observation and analysis of behavioral and attitudinal changes shown by matriculated students. The major conclusion is that the impact of a two-year college on its students is proportional to the degree of continuity between the college and the community; at present, community colleges have minimal impact on students because student and institutional value orientations are often nonintersecting and sometimes even conflict. The guidelines for maximizing positive impact detail methods of coordinating these disparate value orientations. A model for the assessment of community and institutional goals and a list of selected instruments to be used in such assessments are included. (Author/DC)

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Impacts of the Community and Junior College on Students

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FOREWORD

Not too many years ago, it was possible to count on one hand those studies that were concerned with the impact of college on students. Jacob's 1957 examination of values stands out as the precursor, a pioneering effort to assess the effects of college life. On a less general level, Newcomb's report on Bennington women and Sanford and Freedman's developmental studies of Vassar students still may be seen as isolated but landmark ventures into barren country.

Now, although studies of the impact of higher education are more popular—as Newcomb and Feldman's heavy volumes suggest—few investigators have attempted to examine the effects of the community college. And even fewer view the problem of impact in terms of a broader rationale, a theoretical foundation. In educational research, the disparity between theory and investigation is still very marked.

In this monograph, Alfred tackles two problems—the lack of research on the impact of community/junior college education on its student constituents and the gap between theory and research. In addition, he makes other contributions to the literature by presenting a model developed to assess a college's impact on its students and by offering precise guidelines for testing that model.

Several variables are discussed as input to this design: student personality dimensions, family background, employment patterns, residence arrangements and membership groups; demographic characteristics of the college (locus of control in particular), curriculum and major field characteristics; and finally, the faculty. Also incorporated into this model is recognition of those community value orientations that have an impact on the college programs and those cooperative work-study programs and community experiences that merge with the educational process. In order to integrate community interests with college programs, Alfred emphasizes the importance of involving representative segments of the community in those decisions that are related to the educational needs of the community. Thus, college and community work together—each the instigator and each the recipient in various attempts to build a viable curriculum that eventually may be evaluated on the basis of Alfred's impact model.

Not the least significant portion of this monograph is that section dealing with future research problems. It is not, unhappily, unusual for researchers to end their studies with some more or less general statement that "much yet needs to be known" and "future research is needed." Alfred is more specific. Not only does he outline in detail the two basic phases necessary to test his model, he also carefully explicates six areas that might be considered in the evaluation of college impact. These include comparative studies of student and faculty values, perceptions of environmental press, institutional objectives versus educational outcomes, the relationship of student characteristics and ideal learning environments, student involvement in the teaching-learning processes, and community involvement in decision making.

Also refreshingly discussed here are ways in which the environment could be restructured on the basis of a defined awareness of its goals. Deploring the fact that the community college often tries to be all things to all people, Alfred proposes that this institution rearrange itself to effect the greatest amount of impact on its students. Such restructuring requires that the 2-year colleges "make annual reassessment of their role vis-à-vis community needs and expectations." This would require again a merger of viewpoints on questions regarding community, curriculum and goals.

In a world of words and print, it is difficult to state that any one piece is the first of its kind. If not the first, however, Alfred's is one of the first models to integrate research and theory and to concern itself with educational impact on the community college level. As such, it deserves the careful attention of institutional researchers, students, college curriculum planners and administrators, and those educators who are concerned with the effectiveness and importance of college programs.

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The study of impact in the community/junior college is a comparatively new and urgently needed area of research. This investigation of the conditions for impact in 2-year college environments is an outgrowth of studies conducted in the 4-year college by such researchers as Theodore Newcomb, Alexander Astin, C. Robert Pace, and Paul Heist. Acknowledgment and appreciation are also extended to Arthur M. Cohen, director of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges at UCLA, for his guidance in the development of the monograph, and to Donna Jill Brooke, who typed and proofread the entire manuscript.

Very special appreciation is due to Florence B. Brawer, not only for her editorial comments during the preparation of the manuscript, but also for her strong interest in the subject of community college impact. The foreword to this study is testimony to Dr. Brawer's interest and scholarship in this area.

Finally, a word of appreciation should be said for the cooperative spirit that characterized the relationship between ERIC Clearinghouse and The American College Testing Program in the commissioning of this manuscript. If significant research on the community college is to be achieved, more cooperative endeavors of this type will be necessary.

INTRODUCTION

With their increase in size and heterogeneity over the past decade, community and junior colleges in the United States have taken on the structure of small communities, each with a unique configuration of environmental characteristics, student need systems, and institutional objectives. Yet, while much is now known about these structures, the impact of the community and junior college on its students is still questionable. The research in this area is almost nonexistent, and for the most part, relates to personality characteristics or attitudes of students at a given time, such as at admission, and ignores influences related to college attendance.

The import of what is involved here is brought to the surface by reference to the literature dealing with the impact of college. Concern over the impact of higher education was catapulted to prominence in 1957 by Jacob's *Changing Values in College*. The main effect of this pioneering paper was to challenge the traditional assumption that college education is pervasively and positively influential on the attitudes and values of students. A challenge of this type, of course, aroused considerable controversy and stimulated a multitude of research studies, many of which have been analyzed by Newcomb and Feldman in their massive work on college impact (1969). Examining approximately 1,500 students in terms of impact, they report that:

> In terms of relatively consistent uniformities in net direction of change, some changes that are characteristic of nearly all American colleges have emerged. Most salient are "open-mindedness" (reflected in declining authoritarianism, dogmatism, and prejudice), decreasing conservatism in regard to public issues, and growing sensitivity to aesthetic and inner experiences. In addition, a majority of studies show declining commitment to religion, increasing interest in intellectual interests and capacities, and increases in independence, dominance, and confidence, as well as in readiness to express impulses.(93)

Because they are drawn in the main from research comparing seniors with freshmen in the 4-year college and university, it cannot be assumed that these generalizations are at once applicable to the community college student. The characteristics of 2-year and 4-year college students overlap to a considerable degree, but they also manifest differences (e.g., on measures of aptitude, aspirations, and motivation) which produce variation in the conditions for impact. Since, for example, the student body of the

community college is largely comprised of persons who commute to the college from their home residence, some rather obvious stresses are introduced. One major stress is that these students face within a relatively short space of time two adjustments, one an adjustment to the college itself and another a transition from community value systems to institutional value systems.

A Thesis

The thesis advanced in this monograph derives directly from the stresses that characterize the relationship between student and environment in the community college. Outside of growth related to occupational and career goals, minimum levels of change in student attitudes and behavior continue to be a fact of life in community college education. To examine the utility and validity of this thesis, two important questions need to be answered: Why is impact in the community college of minimum intensity? Can impact be maximized at a time when the community college is the subject of intense public scrutiny? This paper attempts to answer these questions.

The majority of researchers investigating college impact agree that the importance of the college environment stems from its effects as a stimulus configuration upon student behavior and attitudes. However, not all investigators agree on the nature of the stimulus or the individual similarities and differences in perception of the college environment. Assuming that it is worthwhile to conceptualize the community college in terms of a stimulus involving individual student perceptions, it becomes relevant to investigate the ways in which the college has impact on students. In recent years a considerable portion of educational research has been concerned with the study of individual and environmental determinants of student behavior and attitudes.(6) Most of this research has maintained as its primary objective the investigation of burgeoning social-structural relationships between the students and their college environment. Research has demonstrated that substantial relationships appear to exist between the behavioral and perceptual responses of students to their college environment and distinctive characteristics of the environment. One conclusion that has been repeatedly derived from such findings is summarized by Newcomb and Feldman.

> Invariably, as a function of their tenure at college, students develop unique perceptual-cognitive responses to characteristics of the institution which in turn serve as a stimulus for specific attitudinal and behavioral expressions on their part. Implicit in this notion is the assumption that for fixed college characteristics, students develop highly personalized perceptions of the college environment. This occurrence, it is said, is the basic fiber of the impact of college on students.(93)

The Need for Research

The concept of impact is difficult to sort out in terms of the origin of impact. Does impact evolve from the college or the student? Events of the past decade indicate that the conditions for the teaching-learning process in the 2-year college are quite different from those in the 4-year college. The oft-repeated descriptions of the community college as a "commuter institution" or "an upward extension of the high school" illustrate the unique status of this institution as a nonresidential, community-based institution of higher education. Moreover, institutional responsibilities of 2-year college faculty in the areas of teaching and advising even further separate the community college from other colleges and universities where the faculty's primary emphasis is on scholarship and research. These contrasts extend into the affective domain of social-structural relationships between the students and their college environment. It is a well known fact that on-campus residence arrangements maintained by students in the 4-year college are a major source of college impact.(93) This circumstance does not hold true for the community college; residence arrangements are typically off campus, and work patterns and social relationships maintained by students restrict contact with the college environment. Contrasts of this type between 2-year colleges and other types of colleges and universities point to the need for new approaches to research on college impact. Traditional research methodologies are simply not adequate for the community college.

There is another factor which accentuates the need for new research on impact in the community college. Changes in size and complexity of 2-year college environments have fulfilled the "traditional" management value orientation that "bigger is better." This trend, however, poses a serious problem to community college faculty and administrators who attempt to bring about social and educational changes in students. There remain the problems of how to assess what types of impact the community college has and how to determine what factors, if any, have the greatest impact on student growth and development. The 2-year college is a complex of values, norms, and role structures that carries with it specific socialization processes (pressures on students to learn elements of new culture and to participate in processes of new structure), as well as desocialization processes (pressures on students to unlearn certain values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns associated with background experience) designed to change individual behavior and attitudes. Faculty, administrative, and student subgroups make up this environment and set the conditions for impact through strategic location in proximity to one another. These persons, however, are often the target of abuse from external agencies in terms of the "quality" of higher education. Faculty are criticized as being self-centered, administrators as being lethargic and inefficient, and

students as being apathetic. Why is this so? If this is the case, why should faculty and management personnel in the community college be concerned about college impact?

There are no right answers to these questions, but there is an observable trend. At a recent professional meeting of the Council of Universities and Colleges, Gleazer described the community college as entering the "third major period" of its evolution: an era in higher education in which the community college, as an "open college," will serve to "create value satisfying goods and services that consumers will want to buy."(50) Furthermore, "the concept of service for the community college is to yield to the notion of community use of the college as an educational resource for individual and community development. The community college, regardless of its previous mission and performance, is now to become an institution of the future, oriented to performance-based instruction and decentralization of services within the community."

If this is true, and many community college theorists would agree there is some merit to the idea, one cannot help but ask: When and where will the proliferation of new services and programs offered by the community college come to an end? When will meaningful and adequate programs of evaluation for existing services begin? What type(s) of "quality" levels adhere to educational programs and services? Some educators say that the time has come for management personnel to restrict the number of new programs and services to those that are definitely necessary, while at the same time shoring up existing programs that will languish without proper attention. Whatever the direction taken, the constant concern of community college educators over indicators of growth in such areas as enrollment, instructional programs, budget, facilities, manpower, and community service offerings has served to gloss over the concepts of "quality" and "impact" related to the college experience. The failure of educators to answer these questions evidences the need for this report, the principal aim of which is to examine from a social-scientific perspective the types of impact community and junior colleges have on students. If positive impact is a desired outcome of college attendance, then a better and more realistic understanding of the conditions for impact, or lack thereof, will need to be reached.

Purpose of the Study

The specific purposes of this study are fourfold: (1) to review the literature on college impact and determine its relevance to the 2-year college; (2) to develop an empirical model for analysis of impact in the community college; (3) to isolate and identify key variables that account for impact in the community college; and (4) to develop and describe alternative strategies for maximizing impact in the 2-year college. The community college is such

a dynamic institution—an institution in constant flux, it has been called—that meaningful research on college impact is difficult to locate, much less to undertake. A critical assumption is that college impact is related to change in student behaviors and attitudes and that selected features of the 2-year college induce change in the value orientations of students. In order to investigate the validity of this assumption, it is necessary to review the literature and to consult theory in the social sciences. A review of the literature is presented in Chapter 1 and a theoretical framework for analysis of college impact is provided in Chapter 2. The conceptual foundation for this investigation is drawn from the theory of symbolic interaction and the model used is that of social behaviorism. This model is of special interest for it is a counterpart of research models used in the disciplines of sociology and psychology. Specific variables related to impact in the community college described in Chapters 3 and 4 are examined in context with the model of social behaviorism and are subjected to analysis in terms of their effect as reductive factors on college impact. One of the major concerns in this study is the way in which selective features of the college and community setting limit or constrain impact on students. Previous research has advocated that the absence of impact during college tenure is one form of impact. If this is true, then it should be possible to describe impact in the community college as a function of constancy or change in individual behavior and attitudes during tenure in college. Alternative strategies for maximizing community college impact are the subject of Chapter 5. Chapter 6 concludes with a plan of evaluation for these guidelines.

DEFINITION AND OVERVIEW

This chapter attempts to assess existing evidence about the impact of higher education on students and to determine the applicability of this evidence to the community college. College impacts occur within a frame of reference that contains many variables. These variables interact with each other in intricate ways and preclude the possibility of a simple answer to very complex questions about cause and effect.

What Is Impact?

Viewing the community college as a social system that has impact on student attitudes and behaviors, it is logical to question the nature and extensiveness of change produced in students vis-à-vis the college experience. The notion of college impact subsumes several important questions: Does the community college influence its students in definable ways? What types of experiences does the community college make available to students? Does college attendance simply catalyze changes that would normally occur throughout maturation or does it forge qualitatively different changes in students? What are the explicit relationships between experiences offered to students in college and change in behavior and attitudes?

As a process, impact must be understood in terms of the thesis of change or development or adaptation. One matter would seem to be certain: the very existence of the community college as a force of education in contemporary American society suggests the extent of acceptance of the assumption that college does influence students. Much of the research provides evidence that justifies this assumption, although this same research suggests that behavioral and attitudinal changes elicited by the college experience are much less than many educators would desire.(18) Research also indicates that impact, as a concept, is inseparable from the factors of "personality" and "perceptions" of the individual as they relate to the college environment. Researchers can experience considerable difficulty in attempting to measure the college environment and its impact on students. To avoid this problem, the concept of impact, as it is treated in this report, is based on the notion of "expected" change in student behavior and attitudes as contrasted to "actual" change. "Expected" change is defined through analysis of the literature related to college impact and determination of its

relevance to the community college. The analysis culminates in the differentiation of 2-year and 4-year institutions in terms of apparent dissimilarities in the conditions for impact. The residue of this analysis is the educational milieu for impact in the community college.

Review of the Literature

The conditions for impact are very inclusive, ranging from the public image of college as an institution of postsecondary education to characteristics of students at the time of entrance. These and other variables (e.g., institutional size, location, tuition costs, curricular offerings, homogeneity of faculty, organizational structure) interact in intricate ways to form a set of characteristics perceived by students as a total college environment.

Impact occurs in response to challenges presented to students that stem from the college environment. Academic standards, peer relations, and institutional policies and regulations, to name a few, are some of these challenges. However, the question that must be answered by any investigation of the impact of college on students is: Do college students, regardless of who they are or where they go to college, change in definable ways as a result of the college experience? One assumption underlies this question: college students desire change and are open to change if adequate opportunities are available.

The literature related to college impact can be classified into two categories: student related characteristics and college related characteristics. In this chapter, the literature is reviewed; in subsequent chapters, its relevance to the community college is determined. For the most part, educational research on college impact is of the traditional mold—it relates primarily to impacts stemming from the residential setting of the 4-year college and is predicated on the assumption that management personnel have control over the conditions for impact. This element of control, however, is not a characteristic of the community college. If any one characteristic is paramount in the review which follows, it is that the conditions for impact in the 2-year college are very much different from those in the 4-year college.

Student Related Characteristics

The nature and extensiveness of impact in the college environment vary with the entering characteristics of its students. The public image of colleges, together with their admissions policies and curricular programs, suggests that entering students have distinguishable sets of characteristics and expectations of college life. Available research demonstrates that three

student related variables are strongly associated with college impact: (1) personality, (2) socioeconomic background, and (3) educational background.

Personality. The personality characteristics students bring with them to the college environment in part determine the efficacy of the college experience. Psychological readiness for new experiences is an important personality variable associated with change in student behavior and attitudes. Previous research indicates that a number of factors are related to openness to change: flexibility of personality, readiness to express impulses, flexibility of cognitive style, self-awareness, venturesomeness, and openness to college goals and life objectives.(20b, 38, 56) Perhaps the main finding in this research is that the more open students are to a particular characteristic in question, the greater is the potential impact of college for them.

General flexibility in both the emotional and cognitive systems of students is not the only aspect of personality that changes during college years. The degree to which a student's goals for college are bounded or restricted by educational or social conditions is also an important element in openness to change. Seemingly, the less narrowly circumscribed are students' goals, the more open they are to change. For example, students who enter college with primarily vocational goals in contrast to intellectual goals will probably have a narrower conception of college and of the way they will relate to the college environment than students with scholastic goals.(33)

Gottlieb and Hodgkins, examining differences in self-perceived changes of senior students with different subcultural orientations, found that the sharpest changes were generally produced between those students with a nonconformist (but intellectual) orientation to college and those students with either a vocational or collegiate orientation.(54) As one type of personality trait, openness to change can itself change during college; that is, the various dimensions of this characteristic can be influenced by the college experience. Change in one dimension of this characteristic tends to be related to change in other dimensions; social maturity, impulse expression, thinking introversion, developmental status, and complexity, for example, can easily change with increasing tenure in college.(135) Openness to change, however, does not necessarily mean openness only to new experiences; it may also refer to students' readiness to orient themselves to other people and to be influenced by them. Research has shown that students with a high degree of "other directedness" (need for affiliation with the environment and its habitants) are more likely to be influenced by the college environment than other types of students.(77) Students changing most in values, interests, and self-conceptions during their first 2 years of college are very likely to be concerned about sociability and social acceptance. In this sense, impact associated with college

attendance is greatest for those students who are ready to change either because they are psychologically open to new experiences or because they are open to the influences of others.

Another aspect of research on personality characteristics associated with college impact is the distribution of students in higher education. There is evidence that students entering different kinds of institutions differ, on the average, according to their attitudes and personality characteristics. Some examples of findings obtained in this area are given below.

1. Medsker and Trent (1965) noted that students entering private universities were the least authoritarian of all entering groups of students. Those entering public universities were on the average somewhat more authoritarian and those entering public 4- and 5-year colleges were even more so. Students entering 2-year public or private colleges were the most authoritarian of all student groups.(129)

2. In their study of high-ability students, Farwell, Warren, and McConnell (1962) discovered that students entering elite, private, 4-year universities were less authoritarian than those entering other private institutions, liberal arts colleges, and public universities. Private 4-year college students were also more oriented to theoretical and aesthetic matters and less oriented to religious values and authoritarianism.(44)

3. In a study on political liberalism among 255,000 students entering 307 institutions in the fall of 1966, Astin, Panos, and Creager (1967) found that students entering private universities were the highest in political liberalism, while students entering nonsectarian 4-year colleges, sectarian 4-year colleges, public universities, and public 2-year colleges were more apt to restrict their political attitudes to conservative beliefs.(10)

4. On a scale measuring "social relations," Hood and Swanson (1965) reported that students entering a 4-year state university scored as being quite gregarious, having good social skills and comfortability with peers and adults; students attending private liberal arts colleges, denominational colleges, state colleges, and junior colleges scored much lower on the sociability scale.(65)

5. A study by Astin (1964) of the educational and vocational aspirations of students, as well as their academic and extracurricular achievements in high school and the socioeconomic level of their parents, indicated that six major distinguishing characteristics underlay differences in students entering various types of colleges: degree of intellectualism, aestheticism, social status, leadership, masculinity, and pragmatism. Students entering private nonsectarian liberal arts colleges were, on the

average, higher than students entering all other types of institutions in status, aesthetic interests and achievements, and leadership achievements.(8)

Since attitudes and personality characteristics of students are frequently associated in varying degrees with socioeconomic status, these associations may, in part, account for some of the findings previously noted. Findings appropriate to these variables are reported in studies on the socioeconomic backgrounds of college students.

Socioeconomic background. Certain demographic characteristics of entering students, such as type of home community and socioeconomic background, condition the degree of college impact. Research has demonstrated that students of lower socioeconomic background, in comparison to their higher status counterparts, (1) are less culturally sophisticated, (2) have a more restricted range of life experiences, and (3) are more likely to be oriented to college in terms of vocational or professional training than in terms of intellectual growth.(102) Moreover, lower class high school students who attend college report being less influenced by their families than do their higher status counterparts.

Just the reverse is true of influences outside the family—extrafamilial agents are more likely to be seen as important sources of influence by lower status students entering college than by higher status students. A number of studies reveal a socioeconomic order for college attendance: private universities attract predominantly children of high income, high occupational level, college-educated parents, whereas 2-year colleges and public 4-year colleges tend to attract much smaller proportions of students from high socioeconomic backgrounds.(129) These studies also reveal that such variables as the educational and occupational levels of parents are generally indicative of educational stimuli in the home and of parental attitudes toward education. The attitude of parents regarding college attendance has a profound effect upon whether students go to college, what type of college they attend, and how long they stay. A number of studies, for example, indicate that students who enter 4-year colleges are much more likely to receive parental encouragement than those who do not enter college or who enter a community college.(33, 129) Because the parent-child relationship seems so obviously related to college attendance and persistence, it is of interest to note that statistically significant differences have been demonstrated among the descriptions of parents given by college persisters, college dropouts, and nonattenders. A study by Trent and Ruyle (1965) showed persisting students were most likely, and nonattenders least likely, to describe parents as energetic, ambitious, orderly, and intellectual.

Data pertaining to the socioeconomic characteristics of students and their relationship to college impact are important because critical differences in college persistence and attendance rates are apparent when students are categorized according to socioeconomic background. Students from lower status socioeconomic backgrounds differ from those of higher status backgrounds in ways that produce incongruence between the lower status group and the demands and opportunities of the college environment. (33a) The degree of discontinuity between the student's previous environment and that of the college to some degree can shape the conditions for impact.(40) If students are grossly incompatible with the college environment, yet unable or unwilling to leave the environment, they may react by resisting change. This could mean that for cases in which lower status students find themselves in highly incompatible college environments, resistance to change will become a way of life. Current evidence, however, suggests that the more incongruent the socioeconomic background of the student with that of personnel in the college environment, the more likely the student is to withdraw from college. (46, 57) In this sense, college impact may be said to be a function of extreme concordance (and discordance) between student and college socioeconomic characteristics.

Educational background. A number of variables correlated with socioeconomic status also are correlated with impact. Students aspiring to a college degree and open to change tend to achieve good grades in high school. (101, 132) College selection is the outcome of interaction among a complex of factors, one of which is the educational background of the student. There are a number of studies which indicate that the educational aspirations of college-age youth are influenced at an early age.(129) One study, the Junior College Occupational Measurement Project (SCOPE), sponsored by the American Association of Junior Colleges and the Educational Testing Service, revealed that 90 percent of the 4-year college students participating in a survey had taken the college preparatory course in high school, whereas a smaller percentage (62 percent) of community college students had completed the same course.(33) Over two-thirds of the senior college students indicated that they had decided before their final year in high school what they intended to do after graduation. Only one-half (49 percent) of the junior college students had made a decision that early.(33) Fully 13 percent of 2-year college students had not decided upon their future plans at the time of high school graduation.

One could assume that students who are not sure about their educational and occupational plans are perhaps most open to change. Research indicates otherwise. A number of investigators point out that students who are confused about their educational and career goals are frequently unable to determine how they might fit into a particular college.(93) The extent to which a college's particular image (or images) determines the composition

of the entering student population is part and parcel of its impact on students. The ability of students to determine an image for themselves of the college environment or of higher education in general may in part determine the type of experiences they will have in college, as well as the impact of these experiences. Therefore, the impact of college on students might best be viewed as a function of their ability to crystallize educational and career objectives for themselves, as well as to figure out the role of the college in fulfilling those objectives. This ability is in large part a function of the types of educational skills students obtain in high school.

College Related Characteristics

College impact is also functionally related to characteristics of the college environment. A number of factors in the college environment, such as (1) demographic characteristics, (2) residence, (3) peer group, (4) curriculum and major field, and (5) faculty, account for impact on students.

Demographic characteristics. It has been found useful to measure colleges on demographic dimensions that would seem to bear on impact and along which colleges can be ordered with reference to a particular characteristic or trait. These dimensions include such characteristics as type of control, size of enrollment, operating budget, library resources, average level of training of faculty, faculty-student ratio, as well as the proportions of students with given characteristics. The demographic characteristics of a college may not be as important in and of themselves in affecting students as they are in creating certain conditions which in turn have impact.

Colleges classified according to type of control (public, private, nonsectarian, private-Catholic, and private-Protestant) have been found to have differential impacts on students. Although research in this area is sparse, there appears to be a "fit" or "congruence" between the average level of students' needs and certain pressures in the college environment.(97, 123) These congruences are probably due to student selection into particular campus environments, as well as recruitment and admission policies of these institutions. Chickering and his associates have found evidence of congruence between student personality and college selection.(23) Students with the most conservative religious beliefs tend to enroll in colleges with a strong emphasis of that kind. Students scoring high on measures of intellectual interest enroll in colleges that vary most sharply from the traditional pattern of hierarchical organization. In a study of the characteristics of 10 colleges, Astin and Holland, using the Environmental Assessment Technique, identified features of the college environment that

were related to change in student goals and self-ratings.(9) The following is a brief review of the results of this study:

1. A relatively large number of students majoring in practical or technical fields demonstrated little, if any, change in self-ratings of popularity during tenure in college, whereas environments in which students were enrolled in aesthetic and humanistic studies were positively correlated with change.

2. Students have a tendency to develop low estimates of their own scholastic ability at colleges with high enrollments, a selective admission policy, large funds per student, a varied curriculum, a high percentage of males, and many students majoring in practical and technical fields.

3. Students of both sexes develop relatively greater interest in the goal of becoming influential in public affairs at colleges where many of their peers major in the arts, literature, and languages.

4. Change in the importance of religious goals is negatively associated with the selectivity of the school and its expenditure per student.

5. Change in the science goal is negatively related to homogeneity of the environment and to the proportion of students majoring in education, nursing, and social work. It is positively associated to the following institutional characteristics: size, expenditure per student, selectivity of enrollment, variety of the curriculum, proportion of male students, and proportion of students in practical and technical fields.

A related study conducted by Knapp and Goodrich in 1952 investigated the relationship between selected aspects of college attendance and post-college achievements of students.(52) "Productivity" rates of students in college were found to be related to such institutional characteristics as type of control, level of training of faculty, geographical location of the school, laboratory facilities, and so on. The most productive institutions were those whose costs were modest rather than high, were located in the middle and far west, were small in size, had a liberal arts orientation, and drew students largely from semirural regions.

This and similar studies indicate that colleges classified according to different demographic dimensions tend to have differential impacts on students. It also seems likely that different types of students enter colleges with different characteristics. The question, then, becomes one of the types of impacts that different colleges have on students of different backgrounds. Results obtained in a number of studies indicate that initial diversities among entering students are strong but that they also amplify during the college experience.(37, 89) Additionally, there appears to be no general ten-

dency for students to assess the "fit" between themselves and the institutionally produced environment, a fit that represents their adaptation to selection processes inherent in the college environment.

Residence. Previous research has demonstrated that substantial relationships exist between the perceptual responses of students to their college environment and their distinctive living arrangements.(78) Research undertaken by Newcomb and Feldman maintains as its primary premise the assumption that students' selection of a particular type of residence represents a preentry impact whereby the experiences that they will encounter are partially predetermined.(93) As students observe the impact of their behavior and attitudes upon others and feel the force of the residence group's behavioral norms and standards for behavior, their participation in the group leads to the adoption of group norms as their own personal norms. Thus, students' residence arrangements have ongoing impacts on them quite apart from the effects of initial selection and entrance.

A number of studies have been undertaken on the effect of residence on student behavior and attitudes.(13, 78, 49) These investigations indicate that residence arrangements do influence the conditions for impact in the college environment, that students' behavior and attitudes do change as a result of where they live, and that residence does cause variation in student perceptions of the college environment.

Peer group. Peer groups can be extremely important both in changing and in reinforcing certain values and attitudes of students. Pace (1964) demonstrated that differences in the degree and in the area of pressure of a student's close friends are related to differences in perceived progress toward various educational objectives; Newcomb found that when students change, the direction of change is toward the actual or perceived values and attitudes held by their friends.(96, 90) For friends who share the same value systems, there is apt to be reinforcement, if not accentuation, of the values they share. By the same token, different sets of friends may increase their initial group differences, a process that may account for the fact that homogeneity of values and attitudes among some students does not change appreciably between the freshman and senior years.

Curriculum and major field. The departments and curriculum divisions of any college are a type of "home" to faculty and students alike. They are the basic units for impact that originate in the relationship between faculty and students and they are the elements around which curriculums and the teaching-learning process are organized. To the degree that curriculums and major fields are sources of diversity, it should be expected that there will be differential changes in behavior and attitudes among students located in different fields. Most studies indicate that students entering various major

fields are apt to differ somewhat in background or demographic characteristics.(34, 138) For example, students from backgrounds of high socioeconomic status are apt to be overrepresented in such major fields as medicine, social science, arts and humanities, law, and other political and governmental fields.(12, 41) The fields of education engineering (and related technical fields) are overpopulated by students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. These differences also translate into variations in student value orientations.(110, 139)

A related area of research on the diversity of students involves the study of major fields in terms of student differences in politico-economic and social liberalism scores. Seventeen studies have been conducted in this area over the past 30 years. General results suggest that students enrolled in the social science curriculum typically score higher on liberalism, while students enrolled in the humanities spread across the high, medium, and low rankings on liberalism.(39, 115) Finally, students enrolled in education, engineering, home economics, and agriculture are clearly low in politico-economic and social liberalism relative to other fields.

When consideration is given to research related to religious orientation of students in different major fields, the findings are not highly consistent.(59) No general curriculum appears to contain the majority of students holding either high or low religious orientation scores. On the other hand, when a review is undertaken of studies related to the intellectual orientation of students in diverse major fields, the research results are highly consistent. Students in engineering, physical science and mathematics, prelaw, English, and the languages are consistently high in general intellectual ability; students enrolled in biology, pharmacy, and applied medical fields fall predominantly into the medium ranking; and students in the social sciences, business education, home economics, and agriculture fall predominantly into the medium and low categories.(62, 125)

A number of studies conducted over the past several years reveal substantial differences in personality characteristics among students enrolled in various major fields.(76, 96) Authoritarianism (118, 124), masculinity-femininity (124, 134), and psychological well-being(126, 134) account for maximum deviation among students.

The main import of these and other findings is that students enrolled in different curriculums and major fields do, as a group, show certain distinctive characteristics which eventually may translate into differential conditions for impact. The question of concern at this point is: to what degree are these differences a consequence of curricular experiences rather than merely self-selection on the part of students who already possess the distinctive characteristics? It is quite obvious that there is something about the major field environment that influences student

change and stability during college attendance. Environmental differences do exist among various curriculums and these differences probably have some bearing on change and stability in educational aspirations.

Since differences in personality characteristics have been shown to be partially associated with various curricular fields, there is at least indirect evidence that environments of different major fields have differential impacts on student development. A number of research studies indicate that preexisting differences in characteristics typical of students choosing different curriculums tend to become more pronounced following experience in these major fields.(66, 93) Since this is unlikely to happen by sheer chance, it constitutes a real impact. It is likely, however, that at least two other sources are operating to shape the conditions for impact. First, there is the very real fact of the peer group and its influence on students during college attendance. In many colleges, students see more of their peers and have more in common with them than with students in other major fields. This tendency may serve to constrict impacts stemming from the curriculums and major fields. Likewise, the impact of faculty value orientations on students can also serve to limit influences stemming from the curriculums. These conditions, of course, vary within determinable limits, but they do serve to curtail the conditions for impact.

Faculty. Existing research indicates that faculty are seen by individual students to be a significant influence on their intellectual development and on their occupational and career decisions during college.(11, 140) The more intellectually meaningful is the contact between students and faculty—both within and outside of the classroom—the more likely it is that the general student culture will be supportive of faculty goals. There is a large body of research, however, which reveals that the orientations and motivations of the general student body are not particularly academic and do not always correspond with the intellectual demands of the faculty.(67, 93) Thistlethwaite found that the amount of reported faculty influence was positively associated with the "outreach" of individual students.(127) Finally, Bolton and Kammeyer (1967) conclude from their study of faculty and student relationships that interests supposedly cultivated in the classroom are not carried over into peer group interactions to any significant degree.(19) This finding would seem to indicate that if a critical majority of entering college students accept scholarly values and are amenable to intellectual pressures of the faculty, then, obviously, the college will be in a good position to mobilize the student culture on its side. This is certainly a condition under which impact occurs. It is through peer support of faculty goals and objectives that faculty are best able to influence development of student behavior and attitudes. In this sense, faculty are a socializing force for students during college years.

Summary

This review of empirical investigations has looked at some factors that lead to impact during the college experience. Inasmuch as a number of different approaches can be used to study the impact of college on student behavior and attitudes, it is important to delineate empirically key factors that potentially may serve to shape the conditions for impact in college. Moreover, there is a definite need for investigations which probe more deeply into the area of impact as it relates to the community college. In order to develop a foundation for such an understanding, it is necessary to turn to an established body of theory as a means of formulating an explanatory framework within which empirical inquiry can be guided. The chapters which follow will attempt to derive an explanatory model from sociological theory and, using the methodology of the social sciences, to examine empirically a conceptual model for assessment of impact in the community college.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the preceding chapter, a review of the research on college impact concluded with the observation that a number of factors, both student related and college related, can account for impact of college on students. Indirectly, support was offered for the proposition that a relationship may exist between college impact and unique background characteristics of students as well as characteristics of the college environment. This chapter presents and discusses a social-scientific theory within which variables related to college impact can be examined. In the discussion which follows, relevant aspects of the theory of symbolic interaction are reviewed. Consideration is given to the relevance of this theory to problems related to the subject of impact in the community college. The chapter concludes with a description of four factors which appear to have significant impact on the relationship between 2-year college students and their campus environment.

Theoretical Orientation

Impact can be said to be a function of change in individual behavior and attitudes resulting from interaction with the surrounding environment. It is also a product of human consciousness of environmental conditions—what might be called the symbolic interaction of the individual with his environment. Symbolic interaction theory places the accent on behavior and attitudes having origin in the relationship between the individual and society.(81) It is concerned with the impact of society and culture (of which education is a part) on the individual and, in turn, the impact of the individual on society and culture. An integral concept in this theory may be traced to the conceptualization of the individual as a social self in which human consciousness is regarded as a process. This conception is a logical step toward recognizing that consciousness involves an awareness of the person's selfhood in relation to other persons. This is the "social self" of the individual—a conception of selfhood which is functionally related to conditions of the environment and leads to impact through change in individual behavior and attitudes.

The social self is not singularly a product of individual self-feeling but evolves reflectively through individual interaction with significant others

who may be said to constitute a reference group. The social self is a product of how other persons, who comprise a reference group for the individual, tend to view his selfhood.(28) Individual behavior and attitudes are the central elements in this conception and are processes of consciousness determined by objective conditions, preexisting attitudes, and individual or group definitions of the environment. Each acting individual ascertains the intentions of specific acts of other persons and, through his definition of behavior and attitudes demonstrated by these persons, makes his response on the basis of his interpretation of the meaning of these actions. Through definition and interpretation, the individual comes to internalize definitions of external conditions held by other persons as his own code of personal conduct. This is the "socialization process," a process through which the individual reaches full development as he organizes and modifies his behavior and attitudes to become a reflection of the general pattern of group behavior. This phenomenon is an essential condition for the impact of society and culture on the individual. It is also a prerequisite condition for impact in the college environment.

Impact, then, is a function of change in individual behavior and attitudes resulting from interaction with the surrounding environment. Symbolic interaction theory refers to the distinctive character of interaction between the self and environment. Individuals interact with the environment through a process of interpretation and definition of the actions of others. Their responses are not made directly to the actions of one another, but are based instead on the meaning which each attaches to such actions or their perceptions.

It is from the vantage point of symbolic interaction theory that impact is here examined. Impact is a product of individual internalization of behavioral and attitudinal prescriptions derived from significant other persons in the surrounding environment. It is an outcome, not a prerequisite, of socialization processes taking place in both the college and the community.

A Framework for Analysis of Impact

Although it is a necessary prerequisite for understanding this approach to study of impact, the theory of symbolic interaction leaves several key questions unanswered. For instance, what is the relationship of symbolic interaction theory to the impact of college on students? More specifically, how does this theory relate to impact in the community college? These questions can perhaps best be answered through consideration of a subtheory of symbolic interactionism known as "social behaviorism theory."

The notion of social behaviorism is closely related to the concept of the social group, a group that is a functional part of the college environment and

whose normative perspectives are used as anchoring points in structuring the student's perceptual world. An essential tenet of this theory is that student perceptions of the self and the college environment are shaped within the context of interaction between the individual and group. The literature reveals that most, if not all, discussions of the social group focus upon two identifiable factors:

1. Structure or organization of interaction among individuals defining their statuses and roles in various activities and thereby defining proper attitudes toward each other, as well as other groups.

2. A set of norms shared by individuals which regulate behavior and attitudes in relevant spheres of activity.(117)

Social groups may be designated as having bounded properties which serve to distinguish group members from a mere collection of individuals situated in the college or community environment at one point in time. Once formed, the group becomes a source of identification and reinforcement for its members as normative perspectives enter into the individual's frame of reference. Behavior and attitudes upheld by the student—the precursory indicators of impact in this study—and norms considered binding for the regulation of his behavior, then, may be said to be anchored in the social group.

Impact that is the outcome of interaction between the student and his group does not take place within a vacuum. It is true that student behavior and attitudes are regulated by group norms, but they are also shaped by internal motivational promptings of the self and by physical and sociocultural features of the college environment. Thus, in any analysis of the relationship between the student and his group, consideration must be extended to the individual-group-setting relationship in which impact characteristically takes form. Figure 1 presents a diagram of the process of impact as related to the theory of social behaviorism.

In this diagram, major emphasis is placed on the concept of impact as a functional outcome of change in student behavior and attitudes. The social group is depicted as a structural entity conditioning the relationship between the student and his environment. Through a process of socialization, the group molds and integrates behavior and attitudes into socially acceptable limits. These limits define the directionality and intensity of impact. The student is an active participant in this process in terms of his role in determining membership in the social group. He is also an active recipient of external influences stemming from features of the college and community environments, features which, regardless of the intensity of

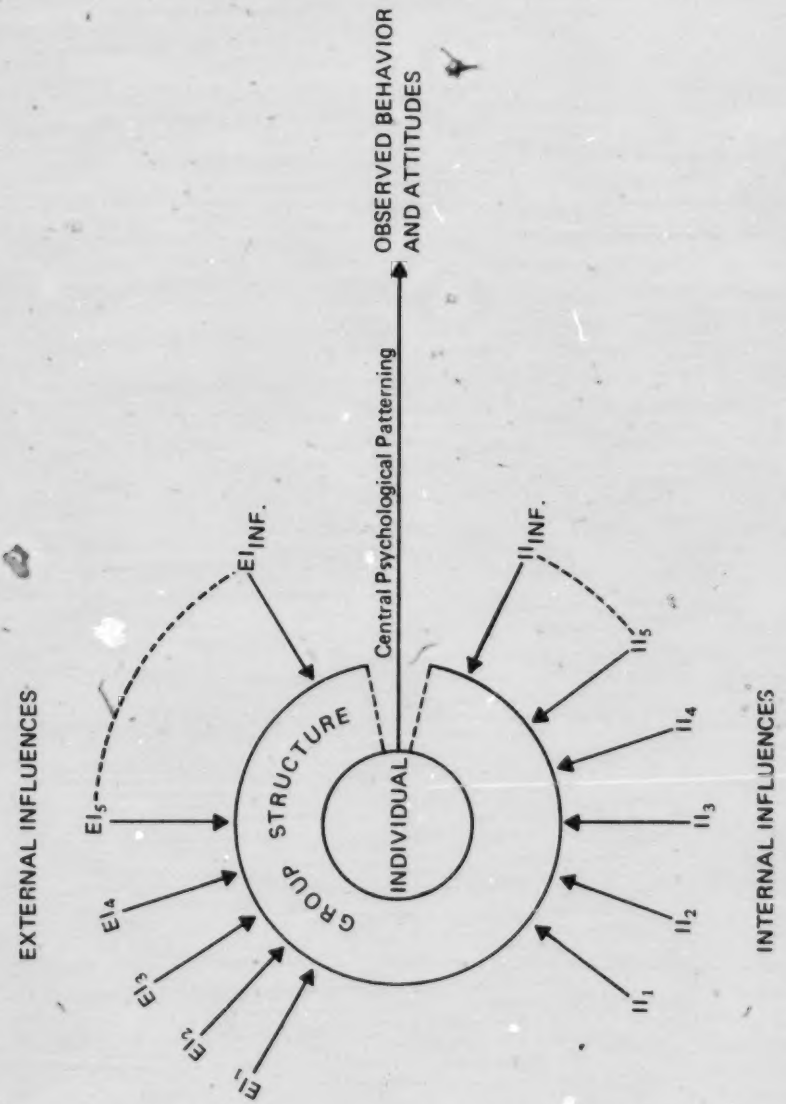

Figure 1. Diagram of Social Behaviorism

certain internal influences (i.e., motivations, values, and interests of the individual), would cause him to change his behavior and attitudes.

Ordinarily, behavior and attitudes are the consequence of central psychological patterning in the student. He need not be aware of separate items contributing to behavior originating from external influences or from inside the self. Functionally interrelated internal (II) and external (EI) influences operating at a given time constitute the frame of reference for his behavior and attitudes.(117) When students share similar or common predicaments and when they experience difficulty in individually changing their predicament, shared participation toward attaining their goals will arise.

Social groups form and become anchors for individual behavior and attitudes as motivational promptings of students impel them toward association with one another. These groups are comprised of parents, teachers, neighborhood friends, community contacts, or other persons in frequent contact with the student. However, the extent to which the social group becomes an anchor for student behavior and attitudes may vary from one college to another as group influence is proportional to (1) the degree of disruption of individual association with other social establishments, such as family and community, and (2) the degree that the group serves as a vehicle for fulfilling goals denied the student.

The content of interactions among students situated in a college environment reflects concerns prevalent in the physical and sociocultural setting of that environment. Within a particular college, student behavior and attitudes are appraised for social acceptability in terms of group norms established for relevant spheres of activity. These norms define ideal modes of behavior, although they also allow for variations in behavior within certain limits. Behavior within these limits may be said to fall within a "latitude of acceptable behavior" while behavior within the same sphere of activity but beyond the prevailing latitude of acceptance may be said to fall within a "latitude of rejection."(117) Latitudes of acceptance and rejection relative to a given sphere of behavior together constitute a reference scale for student and group appraisals of the college environment. Since colleges differ in their characteristics and since impact in this monograph is defined as the product of change in student behavior and attitudes vis-à-vis the college experience, it is imperative that study be undertaken of the dimensions of these latitudes within the community college. The conditions for impact do vary between colleges, as group norms—whether they be expressed or unexpressed—do mediate the impact of college on the individual. Therefore, knowledge of group norms and their functions and content is a basic prerequisite for understanding of impact in the community college.

Summary

Social behaviorism theory, a subtheory of symbolic interaction theory, has been utilized as a means of furthering inquiry into interacting factors that make up the conditions for impact in the community college. Of signal importance in social behaviorism theory is the notion that impact can be assessed through analysis of change in student behavior and attitudes in different types of college environments. This notion is predicated on one basic generalization:

> Items of individual behavior, as well as attitudes or perceptions on the part of the individual, are [illegible] determined by the characteristics of a single stimulus presented to the individual. In order to understand an item of behavior, an attitude, or a perception on the part of the individual, the context (group or nongroup) of the stimulus and the situation (sociocultural and ecological setting) in which the stimulus occurs must be specified.(117)

This perspective provides the theoretical foundation upon which the current examination is formulated. Although the theory of social behaviorism offers a theoretical perspective for analysis of college impact, a more empirical examination of the subject is necessary. To accomplish this task, a model has been constructed which relates theoretical concepts to empirical conditions for impact in the community college. This model is presented in the chapter that follows.

Chapter 3

A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE IMPACT

Research on college impact most often has been designed to measure change in student attitudes and behavior during tenure in college. The primary utility of this research has been the determination of what effects, if any, college attendance has on the individual. Some controversy exists, however, in regard to the extensiveness of impact originating from various sources, as well as the differences in impact between 2-year and 4-year institutions. Supposedly, the conditions for impact in each institution are different, but not so different as to cause problems in articulation. In order to probe the legitimacy of these observations, it is important to identify and describe possible variables that may be related to impact in the community college. These variables include but are not limited to (1) personality, (2) family background, (3) employment status, (4) demographic characteristics of college, (5) residence, (6) membership group, (7) curriculum and major field, and (8) faculty. Each variable is examined in terms of a model relationship to the theory of social behaviorism presented in the previous chapter. This is the basis for a model of college impact that will be used here to delineate the conditions for impact in the community college.

The Model

Developed in the form of an input-output model, this model (Figure 2) identifies factors related to impact in the community college and describes them according to their effect on individual behavior and attitudes. The primary components of the model are demographic characteristics of college and background characteristics of students, as well as their values, orientations, and personality characteristics. The eight characteristics included in the model make up the conditions for impact and are described as "input characteristics." An "expected output" based on these characteristics can be determined through observation and analysis of behavioral and attitudinal outcomes shown by matriculated students. In the absence of more complete data, the only rationale which can be offered for this approach is present in the form of an hypothesis: those characteristics on which entering student to matriculated student change is distinctive for a given college will also be distinctive for its entering students. In short, initial distinctiveness of the entering student population in a community college will be in the same direction as subsequent change during college tenure.

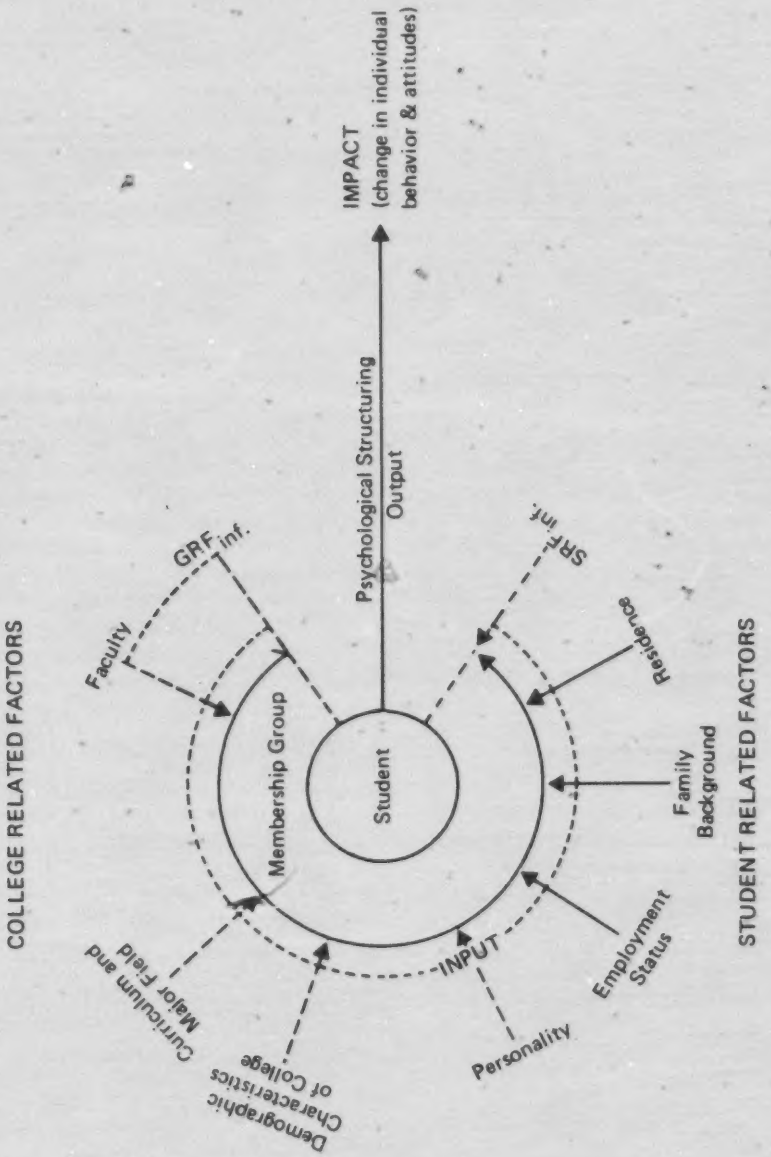

Figure 2. Analytical Model of Impact in the Community College

Input Characteristics

Such an interpretation of conditions for impact in the community college requires explanation. Input characteristics selected for analysis in this study are, of course, not the only characteristics responsible for impact. The fact remains that input characteristics in the 2-year college are unique; institutions in which students are expected to commute to campus and which maintain a low tuition base inevitably will have distinctive impacts on their clientele. There are several factors which differentiate the community college from the 4-year college and university in terms of impact. These factors are examined as follows within the framework of the impact model described earlier.

Personality

Two-year colleges serve two distinct populations. The first is the 17-21 age group, loosely classified as college-age youth. These are high school graduates who have entered college immediately or shortly after high school graduation to continue their education on a full- or part-time basis. The second group includes a large number of students who are not of college age. These students make up the large proportion of "unclassified" and "part-time" students who constitute approximately 50 percent of the total number of students attending 2-year colleges in the United States. They range in age from 25 to 65, and their perceptions and needs related to education vary markedly from those of students in the younger age category. Research has indicated, for example, that community college students show less interest than 4-year college students in intellectual pursuits.(27b, 33) Likewise, 2-year college students are less likely than 4-year college students to discuss college related topics with college personnel and parents. Differences, where they exist, between the personal attitudes of these two cohorts toward college attendance are extremely significant. Community college students seem somewhat more concerned about business and financial matters, whereas 4-year college students express greater interest in humanitarian concerns.(98) The business-practical orientation of 2-year college students is illustrated by the personal goals they consider essential: primary emphasis appears to be on financial security and occupational success as contrasted with humanistic and intellectual concerns.(98) Senior college students, on the other hand, tend to attribute greater importance to helping others, becoming community leaders, and keeping up with political affairs; they assign less importance to such leisure time activities as athletics and mechanical pursuits in which 2-year college students maintain high interest.(27, 33)

When motivation is considered, available research indicates that many students attending community colleges are uncertain about their interest in a 4-year degree.(27, 17) Uncertainty about their plans for a major field or

career, as well as inadequate preparation for a baccalaureate degree, are important reasons in the decision of many students to attend a community college. Lack of self-confidence in academic ability may be correlated with secondary school achievements and with involvement in college activities. Moreover, the focus of high school teachers on academically-oriented students inevitably forces 2-year college students into a dilemma whereby they enter college against a background of inexperience with the type of extracurricular activities that bring them into contact with the larger institutional setting. Two-year college students are more conventional, less independent, less attracted to reflective thought, and less tolerant than their peers in 4-year institutions. They are also more cautious, prudent, and controlled than 4-year college students.

Family Background

Most research demonstrates that 2-year college students come from families of lower socioeconomic status than students entering 4-year colleges and universities.(129) There is a close relationship between socioeconomic level and aspirations toward higher education, as the educational and occupational levels of parents are generally indicative of educational stimuli in the home. Two-year college students, who more often than not reside at home with their parents, rather faithfully reflect the interests of their parents in educational and community affairs and are less likely to receive parental encouragement toward education than students entering 4-year colleges and universities. They also are less likely to have crystallized educational and occupational goals at the time they enter college. The nature of parental example and encouragement toward higher education as perceived by 2-year college students directly bears on their motivation toward and performance in college. For these students participation in college life is limited to those activities which help them meet their primary goals of occupational preparation and low cost education.

Finally, the satisfaction of personality needs is basic to the behavior patterns of 2-year college students. A score of studies has shown that previous educational experiences, family influences, and socioeconomic level of the family affect the curricular and occupational choices of students, as well as their success in college.(25) Many come to the community college to qualify for a vocation. Some of their motivations are a direct outgrowth of the conditioning process to which they are subjected in the public schools and the family. This tendency, although it is also true of 4-year college students, is primarily a function of the extended residence of 2-year college students in the family living unit.

Employment Status

Research on 2-year college students' ability to divide their life among work, family, and college presents a complex picture. Community college students surpass 4-year college students in obtaining money through employment during college, summer employment, and personal savings. At the same time, however, part-time work offers these students important satisfactions that may limit opportunities for interaction with their college environment. For the most part, they do not withdraw from their community of residence during their college years. They maintain intimate involvement in the community's vocational activities and they continue to absorb the community values toward work and a college education.

Working closely with an employer and other employees who hold certain preconceptions of the importance of educational and skill qualifications in relation to occupational success has a significant impact on students, as well as their perceptions of the college environment. This relationship, in part, may explain the vocational orientation of 2-year college students toward college attendance, as well as their disinterest in extracurricular activities and college-sponsored cultural events. The relationship between the students and their work cannot be underestimated in terms of its effect on impact in the community college.

Demographic Characteristics of College

Colleges can be measured on demographic dimensions that are associated with impact; they can also be ordered with reference to some characteristic or trait. These dimensions include such characteristics as size of enrollment, operating budget, library resources, level of training of faculty, faculty-student ratio, and the proportions of students with given characteristics.(93)

The demographic characteristics of the community college may not be as important in and of themselves in eliciting student change as they are in creating certain conditions which may lead to change. For example, one institutional characteristic which describes the community college is its location in a community which makes up the largest part of its enrollment base. Traditional control of the college rests firmly in the hands of the state, but a significant portion is delegated to local boards of control whose members most often derive from the local community. Four-year institutions, on the other hand, are most often controlled by state agencies which delegate control to a governing board that is geographically diverse. These differences in patterns of control between 2-year and 4-year institutions are important because change and adaptation to shifting local requirements and conditions can take place more rapidly when governing boards are in

close proximity to management personnel. Such is the case for the community college. The further removed the controlling board, the slower the process of change and the less responsive the institution to community needs. This condition would seem to have a dual impact in the community college—it limits the climate for impact through allowing community interest groups to assert some degree of control over the affairs of the college, but it also accentuates impact through enabling the college to heighten its effect on students in terms of immediate responsiveness to local needs and conditions. This type of relationship between the college and the community cannot easily be claimed by 4-year colleges and universities.

Residence

Residence arrangements available to students account for some of the major differences between the community college and the university. The residence setting is one part of the individual-group-setting relationship in which impact occurs in the community college. Prominent parts of this relationship are the physical setting from which students derive, the value scales of its residents, and the specific interaction processes through which attitudes and behavior take form. According to Newcomb and Feldman, students' selection of a particular type of residence represents a type of preentry impact whereby their interaction with certain types of referents is partially predetermined.(93) A product of student proximity to referents within the same residence is the formation of reciprocal role and status relationships. As noted in Chapter 1, this is an essential condition for small group formation and ultimately conditions student perceptions of the college environment.

Since 2-year college students, in the main, commute to campus from off-campus residence arrangements, it is important to examine the effects of this arrangement on their relationship to the college environment. Research has indicated that students living at home establish individual-environment relationships that are quite different from those established by students living on campus.(120) Students commuting to campus from a family residence may do so in order not to make a break from family and community expectations. There are a host of other reasons why many of these students may elect to reside at home. Some may be financial, parental authority, proximity to college, and job within the neighborhood community. However, as 2-year college students prolong their attachment to referents within the family and community, they may inadvertently ignore their need for personal autonomy. In addition, there are limited opportunities for these students to enter new personal relationships with campus contacts who might serve to expose them to unique value systems that are

part and parcel of the college. For these students, participation in college activities is segmental at best.

A second residence group in the community college is comprised of students in the 17-22 age group selecting a nonfamily residence arrangement (i.e., apartment, boarding house, or private home). Many choose to reside away from their families in order to open themselves to a variety of new experiences. Other reasons given for residence away from home are those of economy, privacy, need for independence from family, and friends who have made similar decisions. Students selecting a nonfamily residence arrangement appear to differ considerably from those living with the family on two factors: conventionality and dependence. They may resist attempts to limit their freedom to live as they wish. Rules and regulations, control of their impulses or lack thereof, testing out in socially acceptable or unacceptable ways, all come from within the self or in conjunction with a small, personally chosen peer group. Previously it was noted that interaction between students and off-campus referents leads to the formation of a distinctive social milieu for individual-college relationships. Off-campus referents, such as parents, neighborhood friends, and former high school classmates, are an anchor for behavior and attitudes of students. They shape student attitudes toward college and they determine the degree and direction of interaction between students and their environment.

Membership Group

The family is not only a membership group for 2-year college students, it is also in varying degrees a normative reference group. Students and family members have mutual and reciprocal influence on one another. They develop consensual and shared sets of expectations regarding important aspects of their common environment. These shared expectations—known as norms or value orientations—form the basis of the membership group's power over the student.

Community college students are subjected to strong pressures during high school when members of the group(s) with which they identify plan their admission to college and discuss their expectations of what freshman year will be like. Two-year college students, like other college students, want visible, personal identification as a college student. At the same time, community relationships are a powerful force in the life of these students and do not automatically end with college entry.(75) Two-year college students come to campus with patterns of behavior and attitudes which are not radically altered by movement from one environment to another. Students attending 4-year colleges and universities often detach

themselves from parents, friends, and community when they depart for college. They become immersed in a student subculture unlike that of their home community and orient to peer activities and academic work as the focal concerns in college life. This pattern of behavior does not prevail among the majority of 2-year college students who remain at home where the routines of living are not excessively altered by college attendance. Typically, they continue to associate with their former high school friends and they may continue to work on the same part-time job and participate in the same community activities. These differences in value outlooks between junior and senior college students reinforce the proposition that the conditions for impact in diverse colleges are markedly different.

Curriculum and Major Field

Generally speaking, 2-year college students have lower educational and occupational aspirations than their peers at 4-year colleges. Although community college students seem to make important decisions concerning choice of courses while in high school, they are actually more in doubt about educational goals. The "cooling out" process described by Clark provides a sifting mechanism whereby their choices of curriculum are weighed against their abilities.(25) It is this process which regulates the relationship between students and their curriculum.

Faculty

Community college faculty are quite different from college and university faculty. It is well known that 2-year college faculty are evaluated primarily on their ability to teach and not on their ability to do research, to consult, or to publish.(27b) At the same time, they are generalists in that their teaching responsibilities are usually limited to a cluster of courses which are part of a broad area of study. This is not the case for university faculty, who by necessity must retain a strong relationship to specific subject fields which isolate them from important aspects of the general curriculum.

Faculty members in the community college, in general, are not required to produce specialized and theoretical research; the focus of their assignments is in the classroom.(17) If consulting is to be done, it is usually limited to the surrounding geographic area and relates very closely to business, industrial, and commercial concerns. University faculty, on the other hand, are expected to teach and to contribute to knowledge through research. There continues to be a strong emphasis upon production of scholarly materials largely for consumption by colleagues in the field. These and other differences would seem to imply that impact originating from faculty in the community college will be substantially different from that originating

from faculty in 4-year institutions. The research, however, indicates otherwise; there are a number of practical indicators which reveal that 2-year college students, like their 4-year college counterparts, do not always maintain views toward college attendance that correspond with those of the faculty. Two-year college students are pragmatic about the reasons for which they attend college. Many indicate that their primary interest in college is the satisfaction of vocational goals and educational requirements. Faculty, on the other hand, do not necessarily share this viewpoint. Most, if not all, faculty are largely the product of rather standardized undergraduate and graduate programs in subject matter fields. During the years of study, they absorb and react to mores and traditions of the 4-year institution itself, thus internalizing a set of values which is more appropriate to the university than the community college. It is not uncommon for this value set to be rejected by commuting students who bring with them to campus a strong background of experiences, attitudes, and values based in the community. The end result is an educational system which places great emphasis on the intellectual development of its students but cannot achieve this outcome because of conflicting value orientations of those who teach and those who are to be taught.

Interpreting the Model

It is relevant at this point to interpret the foregoing trends in terms of the social behaviorism model presented in Figure 2. As noted previously, this is a working model for analysis of input factors that make up the conditions for impact in the community college. These factors are identified according to their status as "college related" or "student related," and they have considerable effect on individual behavior and attitudes. It is probable, however, that each factor will vary in intensity with respect to changes produced in student behavior and attitudes. A brief review of the literature, for example, will show that four factors probably account for major differences in impact characteristic of 2-year and 4-year colleges. These factors include (1) family background, (2) residence, (3) employment status, and (4) membership group.

Cross has indicated in her monograph on 2-year college students that community colleges tend to attract smaller proportions of students from high socioeconomic backgrounds than 4-year colleges and universities.(33, 33a) Research on the availability of higher education institutions in the community seems to indicate that accessibility of college has a particular impact upon students from lower socioeconomic levels. Additionally, the sources of money for college are quite obviously different for 2-year and 4-year students. Community college students tend to lead senior college students in percentages obtaining money through employment during college. Given these trends and the very high attrition rate for

community colleges, it appears that family background and employment status are highly important variables in understanding impact of the community college on students. The remaining two variables, residence and membership group, are also inducive to impact in the community college through separation of the student from his college environment. Students maintaining residence arrangements external to campus develop a relationship to college which may be described as "segmental" at best. They have a tendency to orient to social groups within the family and community for reinforcement of their values, attitudes, and interests. Their immersion in off-campus social groups neutralizes or negates a number of potential impacts stemming from the community college.

The model clearly indicates the effect of these variables as conditioning agents in the relationship between students and their college environment. The membership group insulates students from influences originating in the college environment and, to a limited degree, influences originating in the community. Under conditions in which student contact with the college environment is limited through membership in off-campus reference groups, residence off campus, part-time or full-time employment, and family dependency, faculty and administrators must face the reality that conditions for impact are extremely difficult to foster in the community college. It is entirely possible, for example, that the only impact the community college has on students is the reinforcement or accentuation of value orientations held by them at time of entry. If this is true, then community college educators up to the present time have been highly unrealistic about the probable impact of college attendance on their students.

The chapters that follow are based on these assumptions:

1. It is a certainty that some of the conditions for impact in the community college are quite different from those in the 4-year college.

2. It is time that a realistic examination of the conditions for impact in the community college be undertaken; the examination should take the form of a survey analysis and should not include "traditional" research variables that have limited application to the community college and its unique student population.

3. It is necessary to employ nontraditional approaches to the examination of impact in the community college; nonreliable data are too often the

product of research techniques used with nontraditional students in the community college.

4. It is desirable that the examination be free from consideration of questions related to the "strength" or "intensity" of impact; the degree of impact induced by the community college may be lower than desirable, and this finding, regardless of its political implications, should not be permitted to disrupt the examination.

IMPACTS OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE: AN EDUCATIONAL PARADOX

Many students enrolling in the community college desire measurable change in themselves as part of the college experience. This goal has not gone unnoticed by faculty and management personnel; for years it has been the subject of numerous debates. Some faculty believe that most students make little more than a token effort to reexamine their outlook on life in relation to new experiences encountered during college; that most students fail to recognize intellectual and academic challenges that are part and parcel of the college experience; and that since large numbers of students attending the community college consider the academic program to be a requirement placed on them by society, professional faculties need not attempt to "teach" them. If students' interest in the academic program is marginal to begin with, why waste time in attempting to expand their knowledge beyond the realm of the traditional? Why attempt to establish conditions for change in student attitudes and opinions (i.e., "impact") when interest in change is entirely lacking?

These questions lie at the heart of the argument that the 2-year college does not make significant impact on students during tenure in college. Students claim they want the college to be an environment for learning which is exciting and stimulating, but very few "real" opportunities are available for individual development. In an environment which places primary emphasis on "institutional growth" as contrasted to "individual growth," how can one be expected to identify with the college, much less participate in its affairs? A number of faculty, and in some cases key management personnel, disagree with this outlook. They rationalize by saying that students really are not interested in personal growth, that they are saddled with personal problems and are primarily interested in short-term, material pursuits and social activities. The problem then becomes one of the relationship between students and their college environment. In what ways do differences of demography between community colleges and other types of institutions create special stresses on students? The answer to this question is the key to understanding the impact of community and junior colleges on students.

The Educational Paradox

Before an attempt is made to respond to a question of this magnitude, however, it is appropriate to establish the value perspective from which impact is

viewed in this report. *There is an educational paradox between intended organizational objectives of the community college and actual educational outcomes generated in students vis-à-vis the college experience.* Stated in more specific terms, community and junior colleges are supposed to be student-centered institutions of higher education. They universally accept, in principle, the commitment to be "open-door" institutions and to provide comprehensive programs to all high school graduates and out-of-school adults who can profit from further education and training. One would expect that from this type of institutional commitment would flow a steady output of students who are prepared to enter the world of work and adult life. Such *is not* the case. There is a high rate of attrition among students enrolled in the community college. Follow-up research indicates that a significant proportion of students express dissatisfaction with social, educational, and vocational aspects of college life, that the college, regardless of its commitment to the learner, has failed to perform some of the rudimentary tasks of higher education.

Openness to Change

This being the case, a different approach to analysis of impact is necessary. The focus of this approach is on conditions in the 2-year college which actively constrain student impact. In all fairness to faculty and management personnel, it is important to indicate that many students do not permit change to occur as part of the college experience. They bring with them to college unique motivational promptings from their home community which, if not treated in proper perspective, will condition the types of impact the college will have on students. The research demonstrates that a significant number of students who enroll in the 2-year college come to college with a "consumer orientation."(33) They enroll in order to satisfy primarily vocational goals instead of those related to general education and intellectual pursuits. To these students, the meaning of college and how they should relate to the campus environment is extremely narrow; they are inflexible in both their emotional response to college and their cognitive evaluation of the college environment. This, then, is the background against which impact is expected to occur in the community college.

In applying the theory of social behaviorism to impact in the community college, it would seem logical to propose that the degree to which goals and aspirations of students are restricted by family and community subgroups is an important element in openness to change. If this proposition is true, then a converse proposition should also be true: the less narrowly circumscribed students' goals are in relation to the college environment, the more open they are to change. College impact is a function of the psychological readiness of students for change and for new experiences during college.

How the Paradox Develops

The educational paradox between institutional objectives and student outcomes initially develops as part of the college selection process. College selection by students is a behavioral outcome of a complex of factors. Research has indicated that the student is subject to five influences, operating either singly or in different combinations during the process of college selection: (1) high school background, (2) curriculum goals, (3) home and community environment, (4) high school faculty and counselors, and (5) the impression that various college officials give of themselves. As students begin to narrow the field of potential institutions for enrollment, they inevitably attempt to evaluate the "fit" between themselves and the institution. In the 2-year college this phenomenon assumes the form of a process of differential selectivity. This process guarantees that a substantial number of students who enroll in the community college will maintain values consistent with those emphasized by the home community. It also guarantees that for many students inconsistencies will exist between their value orientations and those maintained by faculty and administrators in the community college. In this sense, impact of the community college on students may be viewed as a function of the degree to which value orientations and background experiences of students are congruent with those of college personnel.

The force of family and community socialization processes, both prior to and during college attendance, is a primary represser of college impact. A second force which limits impact in the community college is the type of residence arrangements available to students. Explanation has been given for the effect of family background on student participation in campus life, but what of the effect of limited residence alternatives on student attitudes toward college attendance? The "commuter" status of 2-year college students definitely tends to restrict their opportunities for contact with the college environment. A certain period of time each day has to be spent in getting to and from college, and working the specifics of a commuting schedule, resolving the cost of transportation, and adjusting to the regimen it imposes can be demanding tasks for the student. Outside of problems related to commuting, organizational characteristics of the community college often result in a student body in which a large proportion of students are employed in part-time jobs. This results in special problems of scheduling, resolution of conflicts about the balance of time to be devoted to work as opposed to study, and a number of related issues. Conditions of this sort are bound to have some effect on impact in the community college.

Most studies designed to measure change in student attitudes toward college fail to measure impacts stemming from forced selection of off-campus residence arrangements. Residence selection represents the second phase of the educational paradox; it is a process which forces students to choose

between home and college for reinforcement of their values, attitudes, and interests. Research has indicated that residence selection represents a type of preentry impact whereby experiences during college are partially predetermined.(93) Residence selection in the community college, however, is limited to off-campus housing, thereby impelling students toward interaction with referents in the community (i.e., family members, neighborhood contacts, former high school classmates, etc.) who either share the same residence or live nearby. If living arrangements provide the single major source of contact between the individuals and their peers, then it is logical that students enrolling in the 2-year college will establish different types of individual-environment relationships than those established by their 4-year college counterparts. Student opportunities for contact with persons sharing the same living arrangements are extensive enough that they can lead to the development of close interpersonal relationships. In fact, most researchers agree that college impacts, insofar as they occur at all, are in one way or another mediated, enhanced, or counteracted by the social group. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to propose that close association of 2-year college students with referents in the family and community will have the effect of locating the climate for impact in the home community.

Group formation related to work and community affairs is the third and final phase of the educational paradox. Previous research has demonstrated that substantial relationships exist between the perceptual responses of students to their college environment and their distinctive working and living arrangements.(49) Many 2-year college students work in their home community during college. Proximity of these students to referents within the labor force and the community is a condition for the formation of extra-college membership groups. It is through close interaction with these groups that norms incorporating common perspectives develop. Working and associating with community residents who stress provincial value orientations toward education and work has significant impact on students. As they feel the force of community norms, they tend to interact with faculty and administrators against a background of community value orientations. It is not an easy task to promote scholarship and intellectual growth among students who maintain off-campus value orientations. Could it be that students attending the community college do so in order not to make a break from family and community expectations? Is it possible that they live at home because they have little or no desire to enter into new relationships with such campus contacts as would be necessary in a residential college? If the answer to these questions is affirmative, a self-fulfilling prophecy would seem to be in effect: students who are dependent on off-campus referents for personal support during college attendance will turn to these referents whenever need satisfactions or value reinforcements are sought. For these students, resistance to college goals and expectations is a way of life.

The Environment for Impact

How can this outlook be changed? First, it would seem important that research be undertaken on the process through which disparities develop between student and campus value systems in the community college. The very nature of the differential selection process discussed earlier seems to guarantee that a substantial number of students will hold values inconsistent with those emphasized by faculty and administrators. For these students, an adjustment must be made and one such adjustment is the "strain toward self-consistency," a process in which students reinforce off-campus value orientations and reject campus value orientations. As faculty and administrators attempt to catalyze students toward acceptance of dominant value orientations of the college, they may inadvertently push them toward continued dependence on value perspectives in the home community. Reference has already been made to the fact that college impact is in large part a function of the proximity between college personnel and students. If opportunities for contact between students, faculty, and administrators are not available, then the likelihood of impact will be slim. Furthermore, the types of faculty and administrative models available to students can also turn the balance in student-environment relationships. The degree to which faculty and administrators are perceived by students as being open to divergent value orientations is positively correlated with impact.

If impact is to occur in the community college—an environment for education which has been described in terms of constricted patterns of interaction between faculty, students, and administrators—this conflict in institutional roles will need to be resolved. This problem and its implications for impact in the community college is the subject of the remaining chapters. In Chapter 5, a model is outlined for restructuring of community and junior colleges for maximum impact on students. Chapter 6 concludes the report with a plan of evaluation that can be used to analyze conditions for impact in the 2-year college.

RESTRUCTURING THE COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT FOR MAXIMUM IMPACT: RESOLVING THE EDUCATIONAL PARADOX

The increasing complexity of American society has resulted in new demands upon our educational system. These demands have generated concern not only with the formal content of subject matter, but also with the extent to which the educational process has influenced the attitudes and values of students. Moreover, in recent years several countervailing forces have led to questions about the avowed philosophy of the community college. Mounting enrollment pressures coupled with increasing identification of the community college with senior institutions of higher education have resulted in concern about such matters as the open-door enrollment policy, the comprehensive program, and academic standards that are geared to the educational needs of a nonselected student body.

There is evidence that community colleges are vacillating among objectives, never being quite sure about their impact on students or the values they place on various educational alternatives, but always with a tendency to gravitate toward a standard lower division college. The picture is more confusing than ever before as many new types of students demand expanded access to higher education, legislative agencies mandate accountability through toughened finance formulas, and the community expects "quality" education from its college in academic programs and services. Faced with these problems, faculty and administrators must begin to think about new organizational structures that can be used to respond to the needs of multiple interest groups. This concern can best be answered through analysis of three areas of need in the community college: (1) a need for reexamination of institutional and community goals, (2) a need for reexamination of the college program and structure, and (3) a need for reexamination of relationships within and outside of the organization.

Restructuring the Environment

Assuming that a reasonable level of validity adheres to the observation made earlier that minimum levels of change in student attitudes and behavior are a fact of life in community college education, it would seem appropriate to begin by asking whether there is any special reason to assume that the community college *should* foster conditions for impact on students. Such a question may be answered easily in light of the avowed philosophy of the community college as an institution dedicated to the

notion that its services extend to an entire community and that its educational programs be responsive to the needs of a variety of interest groups. The 2-year college, without question, is readily available to influences of the surrounding community. It is, or has the potential to be, the one social agency which can be a focal point for community affairs. To the extent that the community college fulfills this role, it has established the conditions that lead to impact. The problem is that the community college cannot possibly be all things to all people. At what point, then, does the college cease to be concerned about institutional growth and begin to be concerned about student development? Change in student behavior and attitudes—defined as impact in this report—is an important outcome of college attendance. It is this notion of change and its obvious desirability as an outcome of education that is the beginning point for examination of practices which can be used to maximize impact in the community college.

Reexamination of Institutional and Community Goals

A primary concern related to community college impact is the relationship of institutional goals and objectives to community needs and expectations. To what extent should institutional goals coincide with community needs? Do changes in community functions and structure suggest new goals for the community college? What types of evidence do administrators have that their institutions are meeting community needs? Is the 2-year college accountable to the community for leadership in goal setting or is it independent? At what level should the community be involved in planning vis-à-vis new directions for the community college? Answers to these questions are not readily available and there are few signs that any efforts will be undertaken in the future to resolve them. Moreover, there is a paucity of high-quality need assessment programs which can be used to gauge community needs and expectations with any degree of reliability. *Community colleges need to make annual reassessments of their role vis-à-vis community needs and expectations if they are to forge conditions for impact.* This is an essential precondition for impact.

Phenomenological psychology would suggest that faculty, administrators, and community representatives engaged in the enterprise of higher education construct images of the community college based on their perceptions of the campus environment. If the college is perceived by the community as maintaining goals which do not actively correspond with its own value orientations and educational needs, the image will be characterized by such features as autism and seclusion. This image, of course, is somewhat undesirable for the community college; a seemingly obvious suggestion for improvement would be the initiation of a process whereby community value orientations are actively infused into institutional goals of the community college. What the college has done and the people it serves should determine to a large extent the program and

services that are offered. To subscribe to the principle of the open-door policy on the one hand and to ignore the value orientations and needs of the population of entering students on the other, is to ignore the principle in fact. Many colleges have attempted to develop quality programs in general education and vocational-technical education—programs which normally require a moderate degree of academic aptitude. Unfortunately, community colleges have failed to incorporate community value orientations into these programs. Questions such as: What attitudes do community residents have toward the college degree? Do employers in business and industry view college programs as a viable training ground for careers? have not been answered. It is the responsibility of the community college to answer these questions. The means is one of incorporation of community value orientations into college programs. Here are some guidelines which should be followed in this process.

1. Faculty and management personnel in the community college expend significant quantities of time and energy on the socialization of students who cannot (and will not) exchange community value orientations. Efforts should be undertaken to accentuate initial intellectual skills, values, and attitudes of students rather than attempting to convert them to value orientations of college personnel.

2. Academic elements of general education and occupational programs are often irrelevant to students residing off campus. For these students the college experience is one of practical satisfaction of vocational goals, as well as fulfillment of community expectations. Faculty and management personnel in the community college should incorporate cooperative work-study and community experience programs into the educational process.

3. The community is not involved to the degree that it should be in the determination of organizational goals and functions of the community college. Too often citizen involvement in college affairs is limited to membership on program advisory committees or presidents' advisory councils with little, if any, opportunity for involvement in decision making "within" the community college as contrasted to "about" the community college. Efforts should be made to involve representative segments of the community in college decisions related to community educational needs.

With these guidelines in mind, a model for assessment of institutional and community goals is proposed. The model (see Figure 3) is based on the supposition that planning objectives of the comprehensive community college should reflect social characteristics and educational needs and expectations of the community. In order to define the population to be served, college personnel need to be aware of socioeconomic and perceptual

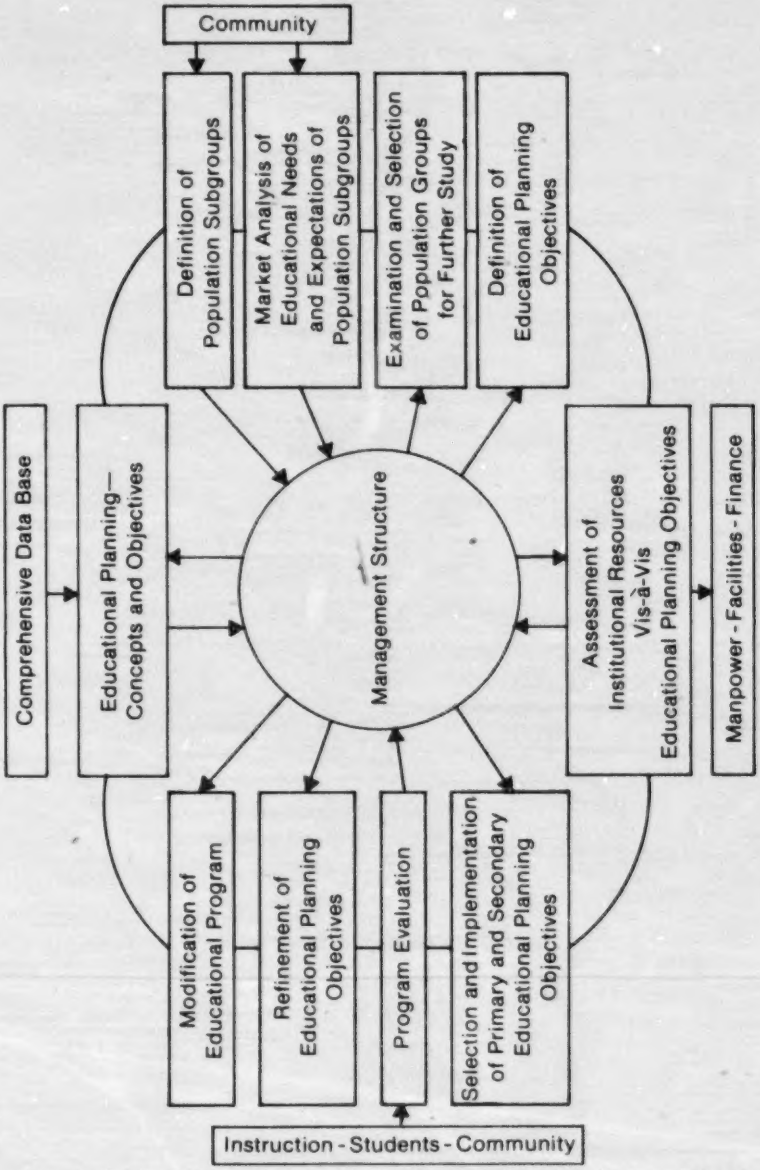
Community
Definition of Population Subgroups
Market Analysis of Educational Needs and Expectations of Population Subgroups
Examination and Selection of Population Groups for Further Study
Definition of Educational Planning Objectives
Comprehensive Data Base
Educational Planning—Concepts and Objectives
Management Structure
Assessment of Institutional Resources Vis-à-Vis Educational Planning Objectives
Manpower - Facilities - Finance
Modification of Educational Program
Refinement of Educational Planning Objectives
Program Evaluation
Selection and Implementation of Primary and Secondary Educational Planning Objectives
Instruction - Students - Community

Figure 3. Model for Assessment of Community and Institutional Goals

characteristics of subgroups in the community. The first step in this regard is the annual commitment of human and financial resources to a program of research on community educational needs. In every metropolitan region in the United States, census data are available that relate to population variables such as sex, age, race, ethnicity, veterans status, occupational status, family income, education level, and unemployment. Taken together, these data make up a comprehensive information bank for definition and evaluation of community educational needs. The aim is to provide 2-year college faculty and administrators with data on which decisions can be made regarding the types of population subgroups to be served and the programs to be offered. Projections of this type, if done properly, should establish a quantitative relationship among population composition, community educational needs, and college programs and services.

The remaining stages of the model are devoted to the definition of institutional goals through analysis of community need data. Institutional goals are stated in the context of community needs and data descriptive of citizens in the community; institutional goals are converted into organizational procedures; institutional resources, both human and financial, are appraised; and realistic planning objectives are established. The final stage is to expand institutional planning objectives into a cost effectiveness model with major emphasis placed on the development of institutional resources for each set of objectives. If research data indicate that institutional resources are sufficient only to permit the implementation of certain planning objectives, then a decision must be made to commit institutional resources to programs covered by these objectives. The key fact is that management decision must both follow and support institutional research data. If a particular decision cannot be reconciled with the available data base, then direct entry into a process of arbitration is mandated.

One of the major weaknesses of the community college—a weakness that has served to constrict the conditions for impact—is the absence of evaluation data pertinent to the market value of educational programs. This is tantamount to turning some programs into the "slums of higher education" as reported in an article by Corcoran in 1972.(30) As students become increasingly aware of "nonproductive" academic programs (i.e., programs that have limited market value at graduation), they curtail enrollment in these programs. The community college can ill afford to continue the practice of developing and maintaining educational programs without regard for "quality." High rates of attrition in low-quality programs cause discontinuities in the teaching-learning process and reduce the conditions for impact. The program of community needs assessment should be conducted on an annual basis if curriculum programs in the community college are to retain their character of relevance to the community. The social community is both dynamic and static. It maintains a stable set of value orientations related to work and education, but it varies the conditions

for satisfaction of these value orientations. Because the community college is an institution of the community, it must systematically strive to remain aware of its value orientations. Through cognizance of community values, it is possible that in time the community college will be the progenitor of emerging value systems in the community.

Reexamination of Organizational Structure and Function

The second area of need in the community college is that of organizational structure and function. The need assessment model focused on the relationship between community needs and institutional goals. One factor that cannot be identified through such a model is the intensity and directionality of community value orientations as they relate to students already enrolled in the community college. The changing composition of social forces in the home community suggests a need for continuous reevaluation of organizational structure and function.

Four factors were discussed that bear a strong relationship to the composition of community value orientations. These factors were: (1) family background, (2) residence, (3) employment status, and (4) membership group. Although a number of other factors undoubtedly influence community value orientations in definable ways, these factors are a significant influence on 2-year college students and their college environment. The conditions for influence can be summarized as follows:

- *Family Background.* Community college students derive from families of low- to middle-class socioeconomic background. They tend to have practical motivations toward college attendance and limited interest in intellectual development.

- *Residence.* Two-year college students, in the main, commute to college from residence arrangements in the immediate home community. Since residence selection is a type of preentry impact whereby relationships with the college environment are partially predetermined, community college students have limited opportunity for contact with campus referents, segmental involvement in college activities, and heavy dependence on community contacts for reinforcement of their values and attitudes.

- *Employment Status.* Many community college students work part time or full time during college. They maintain a high level of involvement in vocational activities of the home community and derive important satisfactions through association with employers and employees who hold community-based value orientations toward work and higher education.

- *Membership Group.* Group membership is a powerful force in the life of college-age youth. Community college students come to college with patterns of behavior and attitudes which are not radically altered by movement from one environment to another. They orient primarily to membership groups in the home community and restrict their involvement in college affairs to class-related activities.

Tradition continues to be a prominent factor in the organizational structure and functioning of most 2-year colleges. Faculty and administrators maintain an outlook toward higher education which can best be described as representative of middle- and upper-class value systems (i.e., emphasis on intellectual development, scholarship, general education, and "white collar" careers). This is not necessarily true for commuting students who maintain primary interest in the pursuit of vocational goals, satisfaction of basic life needs, and attainment of continuous low cost education.

These opposing vantage points mandate a second look at organizational structure and functions in the community college. Why is the community college organized around middle- and upper-class value systems when most students come from families of lower- and middle-class backgrounds? Is it possible that organizational functions of the community college are irrelevant to student needs? Certainly there is no best pattern for community college organization, but all patterns should include at least some provision for the merger of ideas between the college and the community. The following are suggested as guidelines for this task:

1. *That the college have a self-contained organizational unit responsible for general academic affairs.* This would include overall coordination of the instructional program in such areas as curriculum development, evaluation, educational resources, articulation, and degree requirements. By and large, this unit would assume the traditional academic function of preparing post-secondary youth for further education and the professions.

2. *That the college have a nontraditional, new unit responsible for special education programs.* This unit would include programs appropriate to education for the careers, education for human development, and education for remediation of academic deficiencies. The divisions of this unit would be:

   a. *Division of Career Studies.* This division is not simply a remodeled version of the traditional division of occupational programs in the community college, but an entirely new concept based on the establishment of a three-party contract for educational services among agencies of business and industry, students, and the community college. In-plant and on-the-job training programs in

business and industry duplicate many of the educational functions that community colleges should be performing but, in fact, are not performing. The Division of Career Studies would contract with these agencies for provision of specialized education services to students that meet specific manpower requirements of local business and industrial concerns. Placement would be guaranteed prior to initiation of study and the college and corporate agencies together would identify and select students to be enrolled in division programs, as well as the curricular offerings.

b. *Division of General Studies.* With problems faced by citizens in contemporary American society such as early retirement, automation, occupational retraining, and inflation, it is increasingly important to develop programs of general study which place emphasis on education for life and the careers as contrasted with education for specific occupational fields. Recent developments in medicine and technology suggest that citizens past 50 years of age will be healthier than ever and that manpower requirements will shift rapidly in response to changing social needs. Programs of general study would incorporate curriculum offerings appropriate to the humanities, health sciences, mathematics, as well as a score of interdisciplinary offerings related to the study of current issues in American society. The Division of General Studies would place emphasis on curriculum development for the study of social issues, not curriculum development for the dissemination of knowledge.

c. *Division of Basic Studies.* Research has indicated that remedial functions of the community college are best achieved when courses designed to fulfill these functions help provide students with the opportunity to remedy basic deficiencies.(107) The Division of Basic Studies would perform the remedial functions. Degree credit would be offered for remedial work in mathematics, reading, and English composition; transfer credit would not be awarded for successful completion of these requirements. A battery of diagnostic testing procedures would be used to identify students for the program, as well as to evaluate their progress. In addition, a strong program of intra- and extra-institutional communications would be used in order to insure the development of a balanced perspective toward basic studies among subgroups within and outside of the college. The Basic Studies Division would be equivalent in quality and function to other instructional divisions in the community college.

d. *Division of Community Education.* This division would assume responsibility for the development of educational programs appropriate to the needs of special subcultures in the community. Citizen groups such as the elderly, ethnic minorities, racial minorities,

women, and the handicapped require special educational programs in order to eliminate barriers present in language, educational background, and community value orientations. The Division of Community Education would give serious consideration to nontraditional techniques of education, such as competency-based instruction; individualized learning; open-class scheduling, and community-based instruction. Major emphasis would be placed on the use of instructors who have roots in the community. The division would provide continuous, long-term education programs for community development on an "as needed" basis.

3. *That the college have a unit responsible for community services located external to the campus setting.* This unit would carry the traditional cluster of community service programs, as well as cultural and other short-term, community-based education programs which focus on the notion of "service to the community" as contrasted to "college extension."

4. *That the college develop an effective program of public relations that is keyed to the community as an independent system and the college as a dependent system.* Citizen subgroups should be appointed to edit all college publications in terms of the relevance of content to value orientations in the community. Clearly, media that are irrelevant to the community are not worth the price of paper if their content is lost in the jargon of education.

5. *That the college join forces with regional secondary schools to conduct a program of student need assessment at the secondary level.* Most, if not all, community colleges conduct research on students following their entry to college. By this time, advanced planning information on the incoming student population is lost and the college is forced to mold its curriculum offerings to spontaneous choices made by educationally "naive" students. These choices are often made under conditions of duress (i.e., adjustment to college, cultural transition, etc.) and are not a sound planning base on which to organize educational programs and services.

6. *That the college appoint and use a "citizens' advisory committee" for the purpose of periodic counsel on its cognizance of community value orientations.* This committee would be a standing committee, independent of the Board of Trustees, and would extend pinpoint advice to the college on such matters as bond and levy elections, territorial annexation, programs of community education, college goals, facilities, community affairs, and use of community tax dollars. It is recognized that personnel in the college and members of the governing board might easily take offense, but a committee of this type is the best form of

protection when difficult political issues are encountered. Quite often members of the college Board of Trustees are locked into a political vise on various issues as a result of their franchisement in the internal affairs of both the college and the community. A third-party advisory committee would eliminate problems related to conflict of interest and would help the college mold and deliver its educational offerings within the framework of community value orientations.

7. *That the college attend to the needs of its dropouts and its marginally involved students, as well as the community's marginally interested students, through development of a "halfway house" curriculum.* This curriculum would respond to the needs of marginal students through constant attention to the conditions that lead to disengagement from higher education. At the same time, the curriculum would place emphasis upon research designed to identify profile characteristics of the marginal student, as well as institutional characteristics that are conducive to withdrawal. The aim is to attract students to college who have either enrolled before and failed or who have never before enrolled for various reasons. The method is one of instituting a curriculum program which (1) is based in the home community, (2) is thoroughly attuned to background characteristics and experiences of students which cause attrition, (3) is keyed to removal of undesirable college characteristics which contribute to adjustment problems in college, (4) is based upon attitudes that are part and parcel of community value orientations, (5) is designed to prepare students for reentry into the larger college environment through systematic counseling efforts, and (6) conducts follow-up research on students to insure that conditions in the teaching-learning environment are conducive to their success. Academic and counseling programs in the community college are often foreign to need systems of commuting students. Faculty and administrators must be taught to understand differences between value orientations internalized in the college and the community. This program would provide for the redirection of large numbers of students who make up the "academic wasteland" of the community college.

It is recognized that these guidelines will pose problems for 2-year colleges in terms of human and financial resources; there is a heavy cost associated with new and untested programs. Therefore, the guidelines are formulated on the assumption that adequate financial and human resources are available should college personnel choose to implement any or all of the programs. Certainly a major thrust in each of the guidelines is the reduction of disparities between college and community value orientations. As the community college begins to involve important segments of the community in institutional decision making, it will simultaneously reduce the negative effects of variables (family background, residence, employment status, and membership group) which limit or constrain impact.

Reexamination of Relationships Within and Outside of the Organization

The third area of need in the community college is the structure of governance relationships within and outside of the college environment. Many forces are at work to produce a new concept of community college administration. Faculty, with their value orientation toward academic freedom, desire a larger voice in management decisions; students express interest in participating in the planning activities of the college; and community groups seek channels through which they can influence the college.

For some years higher education has undergone a transition in organizational structure from a hierarchical pattern of organization to a collegial pattern—a transition from a pyramid model of organization to a horizontal model. The community college, for the most part, has not undergone this transition. The hierarchical pattern of organization continues to predominate and the involvement of students and community interest groups in college decision making is of the "bogus" variety. Management systems the community college need to become more decentralized; decisions shared between the college and the community more and more should become the foundation of institutional governance. The community college has come to the point where it must involve students and community groups in institutional planning. These constituent groups are concerned with the manner in which the college attempts to serve them. They are concerned about the quality of teaching and student policies, about the relationship of the college to community issues, and about the preparation offered them for life and the careers.

Summary

In summary, *students and community representatives are concerned about the conditions for impact in the community college.* They want to be heard. It is the responsibility of the college to maximize conditions for impact through immersion of the community into institutional affairs. The outcome should be the inculcation of community value orientations into the governance structure of the college.

There will be a need for statesmanship of the highest order as community colleges develop new patterns of organization. The guiding objective should always be one of maximization of impact in terms of community involvement in higher education. A college that fails meaningfully to involve the community in its internal affairs is not a "community" college.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY: A PLAN FOR EVALUATION

A previous chapter described the community college as a system of pressures, practices, and policies designed to impel students toward attainment of important goals in higher education. At the same time, it is one of the most pervasive socialization forces in American society; it is an institution designed to program socially acceptable values toward education and the careers.

Overview

Working from the thesis that four factors—family background, residence, membership group, and employment status—have ongoing impact on students quite apart from the effects of initial selection and entrance, the observation was made that minimum levels of change in student attitudes and behavior are a fact of life in community college education. The rationale for this observation was derived from early research studies which indicated that insufficient opportunities exist for commuting students to develop a meaningful relationship to the college environment. Positing the community college as a unique institution that is part of a larger social community, researchers observed that student value orientations (value orientations which are essentially those of the community) and institutional value orientations are often nonintersecting and sometimes may even conflict. The dynamics of this phenomenon evolve from students' need for cognitive consistency between value orientations prevalent in home and in college. The implication is that the community college can no longer afford to be concerned only with the education of college-age youth. It must, because of the force of community value orientations, extend throughout the community in order to maintain cohesion and unity in the lives of its constituents.

In Chapter 5 a set of guidelines was proposed regarding techniques that could be used for the infusion of community value orientations into the community college. In essence, these guidelines were based on the notion that impact in the community college is a function of consistency between value orientations internalized in the community and those internalized in the college. Thus, according to what might be termed a simple discontinuity

hypothesis, the impact of college on students is proportional to the degree of continuity between community and college value orientations. The greater the degree of continuity between the college and the community, the more potent the conditions for impact.

Much research in the past has been devoted to the analysis of discontinuities between expectations students have of college and actual characteristics of the college environment. Most of these studies make the inference that college image is a major determining factor in student selection and entrance and that, since impact is related to college image, students holding certain images of the community college may want certain things to happen to them and may even help these things to happen. The concern in this monograph, however, is not with the image imparted by the college environment, but with the totality of impact that derives from the community college. To be sure, students' perceptions of college contribute to the composite attitudes and behavior which define impact. Rokeach's work with the cognitive value system suggests that perhaps impact is more dependent on how a person holds particular beliefs than on what these beliefs actually are. Broad application of this theory to the guidelines in Chapter 5 would imply that infusion of community value orientations into college structure will maximize conditions for impact because of increased congruency between student and college value orientations. Stated in simple terms, the "shock" experienced by students on entry into the community college can be minimized through lessening of observed differences between community and college value orientations. While data have yet to be collected that would support or refute this observation, its implications for construction of a model to evaluate impact in the community college cannot be ignored. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to model structure, the test of the model, and research for the future.

A Model for Evaluation

Attitude research now seems to occupy a central position in the field of social psychology. Instruments are available which can be used to measure student perceptions of college characteristics and they can be adapted for use in the community college. A brief listing of several of the categories of scales that have been designed to measure attitudes suggests their potential for use in measuring impact in the community college. Among many others, scales have been designed to measure attitudes of students "toward discipline exercised by parents," "toward self-reliance," "toward earning a living," and "toward intimacy-permissiveness." Under "social issues and problems" are scales on capital punishment, desegregation, international issues, militarism-pacifism, law-abidingness, and aesthetic values. Under "political and religious attitudes" are scales on liberalism, conservatism, religion and philosophy of life, humanitarianism, authoritarianism, and social institutions.

Another category of attitude research particularly significant for students attending the community college is that of their relationships with the family and community. The goal here is the measurement of increasing independence from parental control (i.e., one of the developmental tasks of adolescence) as one means of determining the impact of college. There is much literature related to growth and maturation of students during the college years. Indicative of this point of view are manuscripts by Jencks and Reisman, Prusok, Kysar, Schuchman, Lantz and McCrary, and others which advocate that the 2-year college, by restricting many students from getting away from home, has a negative effect on intellectual growth.(69)

While these authors believe that the development of intellectualism is best served by college attendance away from home, others believe that intellectualism is more a product of group membership than of home residence. The implication here is that home residence, in one way or another, has impact on student development and that faculty and administrators in the community college should be concerned with this issue. Consideration must be given to the need to measure indexes of growth and maturity among 2-year college students. Astin and associates have developed an input-output model which can be used to evaluate impact in the community college.(10) In this model, the background characteristics of entering students and their value orientations and personality characteristics are considered as "input characteristics." Included in this input are the entering or initial scores of students on the particular variables under consideration; these are the characteristics on which the college is presumed to have some impact. An "expected output," usually when students are in their second year of study but theoretically at any time after they enter college, based on these input characteristics is then computed. The effect of this expected output is then subtracted from students' "observed output" (their actual scores as terminal students on the characteristics under investigation), producing a "residual output" now independent of input characteristics. Measures of the environmental characteristics of institutions are then related to residual output to determine the extent to which they explain variation in output beyond that explained by the input characteristics.

A diagram of this model is presented in Figure 4. Here student input characteristics are related to student outcomes (college impact) on an individual basis and in tandem with college input characteristics. Applying this model to the community college, a research design can be developed that incorporates the guidelines presented in Chapter 5 into an overall plan for research on college impact. This design is comprised of two stages—a pilot stage in which preliminary data are obtained and a terminal stage in which final data are analyzed. Research procedures in each stage are keyed to pre- and post-measures of change in student behavior and attitudes vis-à-vis the college experience. In the pilot stage, data are collected that relate

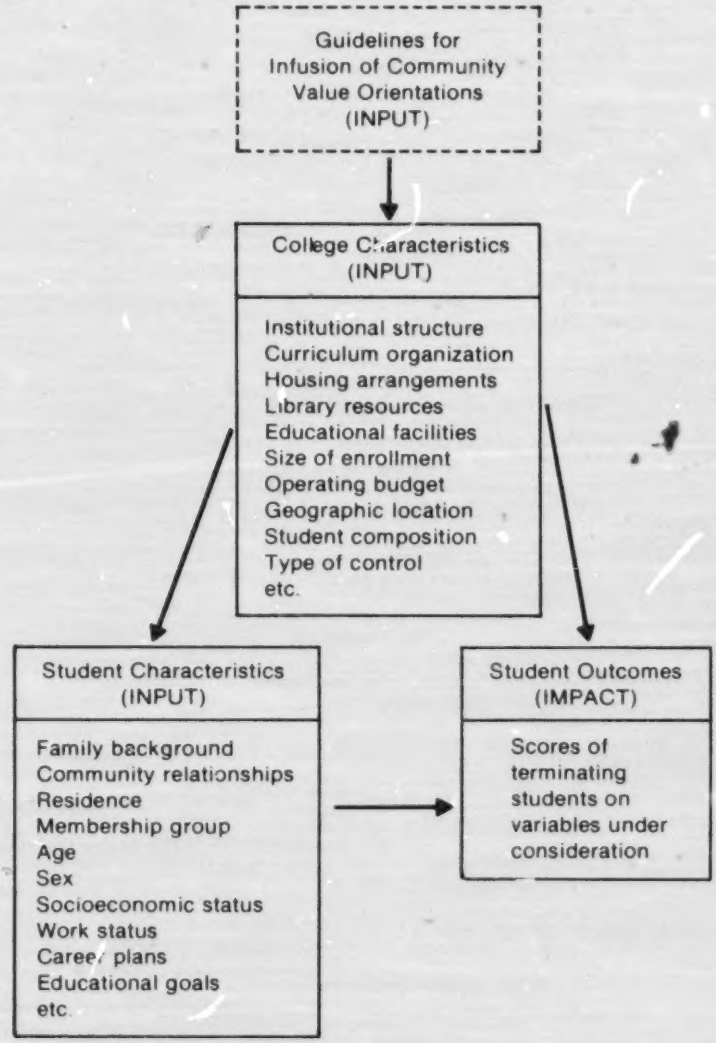

Figure 4. Causal Model for Measurement of Impact Factors Related to Impact in the Community College

to student and college characteristics at the points of college entry and termination of enrollment. The measure of importance in this stage of the analysis is the degree of observed change in student behavior and attitudes (impact) as a result of the college experience.

The terminal stage of the research design is based upon the same techniques of research used in the pilot stage but is ex post facto in method. Primary emphasis is placed upon measurable change in student behavior and attitudes after the implementation of the structural guidelines outlined in Chapter 2. In order to simplify a rather complex research design, a stepwise progression of research techniques can be utilized to describe pilot and terminal stages of the research. The research techniques employed in this progression are as follows:

Pilot Stage

1. Assessment of student input characteristics and college input characteristics at the point of student entry into the college environment.

2. Appraisal of "residual" outcomes of the college experience vis-à-vis student scores on the input characteristics under consideration.

3. Quantification of the differential between entering student and terminating student scores on the characteristics under consideration (observed output).

4. Longitudinal assessment of the differentials in college input characteristics at the points of student entry to college and termination of study; statistical removal from the "observed output" to produce a "residual output."

5. Tabulation of the "residual output" as a final measure of impact in the community college.

Terminal Stage

1. Implementation of structural innovations in the traditional management model of the community college in order to produce an "experimental model."

2. Assessment of student input characteristics at the point of entry to college.

3. Appraisal of student and institutional scores ("observed output") on the characteristics under consideration at the point of student withdrawal from the college environment.

4. Quantification of the differential between entering student and terminal student scores on the input characteristics under consideration ("observed output").

5. Statistical removal of the effects of college characteristics from the "observed output" in order to produce a "residual output."

6. Comparison of "residual outputs" generated through the "traditional" organizational model (pilot stage) and the "experimental" organizational model (terminal stage); observed differences in output determined as a result of this analysis defined as a residual index of impact in the community college.

The "residual index" is a measure of the degree to which impact is maximized in the community college as a function of structural change and can be determined through use of traditional research instruments. Some of the instruments which can be used are presented in Table I. These instruments are the means by which impact is measured.

Test of the Model

In research related to the study of college impact, a persistent problem has been that of determining the extensiveness of impact due to college attendance. This problem can best be solved through use of a combination of techniques (Figure 5) appropriate for collection of data pertaining to input characteristics. The techniques used, of course, depend on the types of instruments available and their relevance to the measurement of impact. Table I presents selected instruments which can be used to measure student and college input characteristics associated with impact in the community college. Although the list is not complete, the data obtained are part of a longitudinal research design and represent pre- and post-measures of input characteristics related to student "outputs" in higher education. The background, values, orientations, and personality characteristics of entering and terminating students are measured by instruments designed to obtain appropriate demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal data. Measures of the characteristics of institutions are then tabulated and statistically removed in order to determine the full range of student inputs involved in college impact.

The final phase of the research design is devoted to the analysis of student outputs (terminal scores on selected research instruments) that are generated by traditional and experimental institutional models. To accomplish this task, student scores obtained on various research instruments are compared at entry and termination points in the pilot and terminal stages of the research. If there is observed inconsistency in the scores, then the conditions for impact in each institutional model are said to

Table I

Selected Instruments for Use in Assessment of Student and College Related Characteristics Involved in Community College Impact

Characteristic	Instruments	Institutional Structure			
		Traditional		Experimental	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Student Related					
Values, goals, and life satisfactions	Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values	X	X	X	X
Intellectual, political, economic, religious, and social values	Spanger Values, Goldsen Inventory, Hall Survey	X	X	X	X
Personality, authoritarianism	F-Scale (Adorno), Dogmatism Scale (Rokeach)	X	X	X	X
Impulses, autonomy, dominance, confidence	Omnibus Personality Inventory	X	X	X	X
Psychological well-being	Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory	X	X	X	X
College Related					
College characteristics	Student Reactions to College	X	X	X	X
	College and University Environment Scales	X	X	X	X
	Environmental Assessment Techniques	X	X	X	X
	Richards, Rand, and Rand Environment Scales	X	X	X	X

Figure 5. Overall Research Model for Assessment of College Impact

be different. The converse is also true: if there is observed consistency in the scores, then no alternative is left but to conclude that the experimental institutional model produces no differences whatsoever in the conditions for impact—impact remains constant at a level observed prior to implementation of the structural guidelines. If student outcomes do not increase beyond the level observed in the traditional model, then additional steps will be needed to maximize conditions for impact.

Efforts should be undertaken to ascertain whether or not changes in institutional structure do make a difference in impact in the community college. Failure to show significant change in the conditions for impact between traditional and experimental institutional models can be interpreted to mean that impact in the community college is not solely a function of change in institutional structure; it may also be a function of change in operating conditions. Implications of this phenomenon comprise the central point of discussion in the section which follows.

Research for the Future

Research in the community college has been almost meaningless in terms of making the conditions for impact more effective. As many educators are quick to indicate, emphasis of the community college on the more routine and mundane details of institutional growth (e.g., enrollments, staff, and revenue) has served to gloss over "quality education." Little has been done to evaluate institutional and student characteristics related to impact, as well as the quality of institutional output—students and their success in the world of work and further education. Without this type of research, changes in the educational system will most likely continue to be adjustments of a mechanical sort which do nothing more than reorganize conditions for the teaching-learning process.

Although a number of structural changes have been advocated in this report, other changes rest in the domain of institutional functions in the community college. They are process and procedure oriented and involve the development of services in the community college to satisfy needs and expectations of the community. The community is the social base for the community college. It has the power to influence the direction of operating resources and it can bring enormous pressure to bear on college management structure. To be sure, many educators argue that active involvement of the community in institutional decision making impedes the attainment of institutional goals. It is likely, however, that the gains associated with community involvement in educational decision making far outweigh the liabilities. Faculty and administrators in the community college are in a position to remove obstacles related to community

involvement in college affairs. It is through this type of involvement that the community college can expect to maximize conditions for impact on students.

Some suggestions for further research are listed below:

1. *A Study of Community College Faculty Values Contrasted with Those of Students.* Since much is unknown about contrasts and similarities in values (both expressed and unexpressed) held by students and faculty in the community college, an empirical study should be undertaken which has as its main purpose the identification of value perspectives held by various institutional subcultures.(20a)

2. *A Study of Student, Faculty, and Management Perceptions of College Environmental Press.* The community college is the center of many competing pressures, including not only the local community but other institutions of education, government, and business. Do parties to the educational enterprise in the community college have different perceptions of the environment depending on their status within the environment? What types of conflicts exist between subcultures in the community college with regard to their perceptions of the environment? How can divergent perceptions of environmental press be reconciled among institutional subcultures?

3. *A Study of Intended Institutional Objectives in the Community College as Contrasted to Actual Educational Outcomes.* Research has indicated that outcomes generated through the college experience often do not coincide with intended institutional objectives. Specifically, what types of outcomes relate to various institutional objectives and how can these outcomes be obtained? Research should begin with the assumption that intended institutional objectives are part of a broad philosophical platform and thus have limited applicability to day-to-day goals of the college.

4. *A Study of the Characteristics of Students Attending the Community College and the Type(s) of Learning Environment That Would Best Suit Their Needs and Expectations.* Do students originating from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds hold the same values and expectations as faculty who stem primarily from middle-class family backgrounds? What kinds of community and institutional presses are identifiable in comparing the value perceptions of institutional subgroups?

5. *A Study of Policies and Procedures in the Community College Which Regulate Institutional Contacts with the Community, as Well as Student Involvement in the Teaching-Learning Process.* The objective of this study would be to determine, through content analysis, substantive

elements of college policies and procedures and their relevance to students and the social community.

6. *A Study of the Extent of Community Involvement in Decision-Making Processes in the Community College.* Many institutions extend lip service to the amount of actual time spent by the community in internal college affairs. This study would investigate, in empirical terms, the actual amount of time the community is permitted to spend in educational decision making within the college.

Previous research has provided little information about the conditions for impact in the community college. Although the door of the community college is open, it is frequently a revolving door and we know little about the motivations and perceptions of students who enter the college only to terminate study prior to completion of the degree. Furthermore, we possess only traditional measures to describe nontraditional students, students who by the very nature of their backgrounds, personality characteristics, values, attitudes, and interests change the conditions for impact. It hardly seems likely that faculty and administrators will help students develop to their fullest potential without thinking first about characteristics of the campus environment which might hinder this task. A great need in the future, therefore, is to investigate whether, and in what ways, the community college can vary the conditions for impact for nontraditional students rather than simply trying to reorganize the environment for greater control over students and their community.

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